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THE ESSAYS

OR

COUNSELS, CIVIL AND MORAL

OF

FRANCIS BACON

LORD VERULAM, VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES

BY

SAMUEL HARVEY REYNOLDS, M.A.

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PREFACE.

THIS edition of the Essays was undertaken by me at the suggestion of Mr. J. R. Thursfield, who had put together materials for notes on the first twenty-three Essays, but was unable, in the stress of other literary engagements, to carry out his design. Mr. Thursfield's name is sufficient warrant for what the completed edition would have been in his hands. His design, as I understand it, was to prepare an edition for the use of scholars and advanced students, and especially to show from contemporary translations the sense in which doubtful passages had been understood in Bacon's own day. These points I have kept in mind. But the line followed in Mr. Thursfield's manuscript notes was not in many ways the same as that which I have taken. He entered much more fully than I have done into the history and derivation of words, and into grammatical and philological disquisitions. This is a line of research for which I have no taste, and which I could not have pursued with any pleasure. It has, moreover, been rendered practically superfluous by the publication of the 'English Dictionary.' This was not and could not have been anticipated by Mr. Thursfield when he began collecting materials for his notes.

It is, in any case, seldom possible to use another man's materials, or to adapt oneself to another man's design. I have consequently found myself compelled to do the

whole work of this edition for myself, and to take the entire responsibility for it. It has called chiefly for the exercise of a patient drudging accuracy. It is at last finished. It has been harder work, and has taken more time, than I expected when I first took it in hand.

The references in the Notes and Illustrations, where they are not specified, are to the following editions:

BACON: *Letters and Life*, edited by SPEDDING AND ELLIS. 7 vols. 1862–74.

„ *Works*, edited by ELLIS AND SPEDDING. 7 vols. 1857–59.

BODIN: *Commonweal.* Knolles' Trans.

EDMUNDES: *Observations upon Caesar's Commentaries.* London, 1609.

ERASMUS: *Adagia.* Basle, 1551.

„ *Apophthegmata.* Paris, 1533.

French, i.e. French version of Essays, by SIR ARTHUR GORGES, 1619.

GUICCIARDINI: London, 1821, in 10 vols.

HAKLUYT: *Voyages.* 5 vols. London, 1809–12.

HOOKER: Keble's ed. 1836.

Italian, i.e. Italian version of Essays, edited by MR. TOBYE MATTHEW, 1618.

JAMES: *Works of the most high and mighty prince James.* By the Bishop of Winchester. 1616, fol.

KNOLLES: *History of the Turks.* 5th ed. 1638.

MONTAIGNE: Paris, 1802. 4 vols.

PARKINSON: *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris, &c.* 1656, fol.

Patristic references. These are to MIGNE's Patrologiae cursus completus.

PEUCER: *De Divinatione ex Somniis.* 1607, 8vo.

PINKERTON: *Voyages.* 1808–14, in 17 vols.

PLINY, N. H.: Philemon Holland's Trans.

PLUTARCH: *Lives.* North's Trans. 1603.

„ *Morals.* Holland's Trans. 1657.

SENECA: *Lipsius.* 4th. ed. 1652, fol.

WILSON: *Arte of Rhetorique, &c.* 1584, 4to.

INTRODUCTION.

Of all Bacon's writings his Essays have been the most widely read. They have been, in the best sense of the word, popular. His most famous work, the Novum Organum, has been accepted on the verdict of the few; for one student who has attempted it, there have been scores and scores who have read and re-read the Essays. 'Of all my other works,' says Bacon himself, 'they have been the most current;' and this, which was said only of the earlier and shorter editions, could be said of them more truly than ever in their final and finished form.

Bacon's scope and object in his Essays, the kind of success he was aiming at, and the standard by which he wished to be judged, may be gathered from his own words. He terms his volume 'certain brief notes, set down rather significantly than curiously, which I have called Essays.' 'The word is late, but the thing is ancient. For Seneca's Epistles to Lucilius, if one mark them well, are but Essays, that is, dispersed meditations, though conveyed in the form of epistles.' His own Essays are to be 'grains of salt which will rather give an appetite than offend with satiety.' 'They handle those things . . . whereof a man shall find much in experience but little in books[1].' This is a more fit description of the earlier editions of the Essays than of the latest, but it is in a way applicable to all of them. The earlier had been well received, because 'they came home to men's business and bosoms,' and this is the claim made for the

[1] Letters and Life, iv. 340.

latest. These had more literary art, more curiosity of workmanship, but the general significance was the same. Their notes were less brief, but not less stimulating, not less careful to avoid offending with satiety. The word, says Bacon, is late —Montaigne's Essays had appeared in 1580. The thing is ancient—Seneca had written Essays in fact though not in name. There is some art displayed in the suggestion of these two names. Dispersed meditations they had both written, but little or nothing that could pass as 'grains of salt, which will rather give an appetite than offend with satiety.' 'Much in experience but little in books,' might stand true for some parts of Montaigne's Essays. With Seneca's Epistles the exact opposite is the case. Much of them will be found in books, but very little in experience. It is probable that Bacon had no very high opinion of either writer, and that he had no doubt that the points which he was claiming for himself, were just those in which his readers must have found Seneca and Montaigne most signally wanting. But in the style and manner of the Essays there is a further implied promise. The Latin title is explicit—'sermones fideles sive interiora rerum'—the insides of things, by way of contrast to the outside shows and pretences with which men had previously been put off. The writer poses as one who has authority to speak; as one who has been behind the scenes in the great theatre of the world, and who now comes forward to give others the result of his experience, to tell them the motives from which men commonly act, and the kind of conduct which may be expected from them, and to lay down rules and cautions which may help them to play their part safely and suitably in the perplexed game of life. It is not only that he has held a great place and has been occupied in great affairs. More impressive is the manner in which he has recorded his experience and the position which he thus asserts for himself. His language in his best passages has a singular majesty and force. His weighty sentences give what appears like the condensed thought of a lifetime set down in most fit and telling words. They are uttered with an air of authority, and bear the stamp of a man who has a right so to speak. It is the language of a superior

being, who condescends to occupy his leisure moments with the concerns of a lower race, and to impart truths which his uninstructed readers could never have discovered for themselves.

Three different editions of the Essays in English were published during Bacon's lifetime and with his sanction. The first, the edition of 1597, dedicated to his brother, Anthony Bacon, contained ten Essays:—

1. Of Study.
2. Of Discourse.
3. Of Ceremonies and Respects.
4. Of Followers and Friends.
5. Of Suitors.
6. Of Expence.
7. Of Regiment of Health.
8. Of Honour and Reputation.
9. Of Faction.
10. Of Negociating.

Two other distinct treatises were bound up with them, the Meditationes Sacrae in Latin, and the Colours of Good and Evil. The book was re-published in 1598, with the Meditationes Sacrae in English, but otherwise without change. The next edition, in 1612, contained thirty-eight Essays, twenty-nine of them new, and nine from the former edition, the Essay of Honour and Reputation being left out. The table of contents gives the titles of forty Essays:—

1. Of Religion.
2. Of Death.
3. Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature.
4. Of Cunning.
5. Of Marriage and Single Life.
6. Of Parents and Children.
7. Of Nobility.
8. Of Great Place.
9. Of Empire.
10. Of Counsel.
11. Of Dispatch.
12. Of Love.
13. Of Friendship.
14. Of Atheism.
15. Of Superstition.
16. Of Wisdom for a Man's Self.
17. Of Regiment of Health.
18. Of Expences.
19. Of Discourse.
20. Of Seeming Wise.
21. Of Riches.
22. Of Ambition.
23. Of Young Men and Age.
24. Of Beauty.
25. Of Deformity.
26. Of Nature in Men.
27. Of Custom and Education.

28. Of Fortune.
29. Of Studies.
30. Of Ceremonies and Respects.
31. Of Suitors.
32. Of Followers.
33. Of Negociating.
34. Of Faction.
35. Of Praise.
36. Of Judicature.
37. Of Vain Glory.
38. Of Greatness of Kingdoms.
39. Of the Public.
40. Of War and Peace.

But Essay 38 falls so naturally into three distinct parts, corresponding to the last three titles, that there is no real difference between the table and the actual contents.

It was Bacon's intention to dedicate this edition to Prince Henry, but the Prince died before it was published, and it was dedicated to Bacon's brother-in-law, Sir John Constable.

The third edition, that of 1625, contained fifty-eight Essays, viz. the thirty-eight with the same titles as in the edition of 1612, the Essay of Honour and Reputation omitted in that edition, and nineteen new Essays:—

1. Of Truth.
4. Of Revenge.
5. Of Adversity.
6. Of Simulation and Dissimulation.
9. Of Envy.
12. Of Boldness.
15. Of Seditions and Troubles.
18. Of Travel.
21. Of Delays.
24. Of Innovations.
31. Of Suspicion.
33. Of Plantations.
35. Of Prophecies.
37. Of Masks and Triumphs.
41. Of Usury.
45. Of Building.
46. Of Gardens.
57. Of Anger.
58. Of Vicissitude of Things.

The Essays in this edition are, in Bacon's own words, 'enlarged both in number and weight, so that they are indeed a new work.' The dedication is to the Duke of Buckingham.

Besides these three editions, Mr. Arber, in his Harmony of the Essays, gives the contents of a manuscript (Harleian MS. 5106) with interlineations in, as he thinks, Bacon's own hand. Its date is fixed approximately by the title-page, which describes Bacon as the King's Solicitor-General. This he became in 1607; and he was raised to be Attorney-General

in 1613. The manuscript contains thirty-six Essays. It omits six found in the edition of 1612, and adds two, viz. Of Honour and Reputation, which had appeared in 1597, and Of Seditions and Troubles, which was not published in English before 1625. The manuscript is interesting, but otherwise worthless or nearly so, since as far as its contents differ from those of the edition of 1612, they must be taken to represent Bacon's rejections and not his choice.

Of the various copies of the edition of 1625, hardly any two agree in every particular. The variations, unimportant for the most part, are due to corrections and changes having been made during the progress of the book through the press. This, as Dean Church remarks, in his Preface to the first book of the Ecclesiastical Polity, was the common practice of the time. When the printing was done, the different sheets were bound up indiscriminately, and the purchasers were thus left free to dispute over the authority of their several varying copies. The text followed in the present edition is that of the volume presented by Bacon to the Duke of Buckingham, to whom the book is dedicated. It is likely that this would have been a copy specially selected. The readings, as far as they differ from those of other copies, give a better and clearer sense, and in one or two instances make sense where some other copies do not. We find, for example (p. 289, l. 1), 'game,' not 'gaine'; on p. 147, l. 3, 'children,' not 'child'; in l. 10, there is a full stop after 'the Counsellor,' and a new sentence begins with the word 'Salomon,' in place of the reading which puts a full stop after 'his blessed Son,' and goes on—'The Counsellor Salomon hath pronounced,' &c. The presentation copy has two errors of text, found also in other copies: on p. 186, the name Plautianus' is spelt persistently 'Plantianus,' and on p. 356, l. 2, there is a misprint of 'aud' for 'and.' I have not thought it necessary to follow these obvious mistakes.

The spelling and punctuation have been modernized, except in one or two places, where the original form has been kept, for reasons stated in the notes. With proper names, where Bacon's spelling is persistent, as with 'Salomon,' 'Macciavel,'

it has been kept; where the name occurs once only, and in an unauthorized form, as 'Mountaigny,' for 'Montaigne,' it has not been kept.

The presentation copy is in the Bodleian Library. There is an inscription on the fly-leaf at the beginning—'This book is the same that was presented by the author to the deseased the Duke of Buckingham to whom it was dedicated, and by L. Robts merchant of London presented to the Universitie Liberie att Oxonford, to be there preserved as a monument for future times. London 6 Nov. London the 16 1628.'

The Annals of the Bodleian Library give this book among the acquisitions of the year 1628—'The copy of Bacon's Essays (1625) which was presented by the author to the Duke of Buckingham, was given to the Library by Lewis Roberts, a merchant of London.' The head of the Duke is worked in silk on the front and on the back cover; the name appears to be worked on the front cover, but not very clearly.

Of the three best-known contemporary translations of the Essays, the Latin is the most valuable. Bacon, in his dedication to the Edition of 1625, speaks of it as already complete. What part he had in it, how far it was done under his own eye, and whether it was finished during his lifetime are uncertain. It was first published by Dr. Rawley in 1638. In some of the Essays it is probable, in one (29) it is certain, that it represents Bacon himself as its approver if not as its author. But in several places there are clear mistakes of rendering, such as Bacon either cannot have seen, or must have been strangely negligent in suffering to pass unaltered. That the title which it bears was given it by Bacon himself appears in a letter to Father Fulgentio—'sequetur libellus iste quem vestrâ linguâ "Saggi Morali" appellastis, verum illi libro nomen gravius impono, scilicet ut inscribatur, "Sermones fideles, sive interiora rerum".'

'Saggi morali' is the title of the Italian translation, a work of uncertain authorship, published first in 1618, and again, somewhat altered, in 1619. That Bacon knew it and to some extent gave his sanction to it, may be assumed. We have not only the distinct reference to it in the letter quoted above;

the book contains an Essay, Of Seditions and Troubles, which had not yet been published in an English form, and which we may suppose therefore to have been supplied by Bacon himself; in the preface to it there is a translation of part of the intended dedication to Prince Henry, which had not been published in consequence of the Prince's death; and it was edited by Mr. Toby Matthew, Bacon's intimate friend. I have made occasional use of this version, sometimes to support an interpretation which I believe to be correct but for which I can find no other authority, sometimes to illustrate the different senses in which Bacon's writings were interpreted in his own day.

It contains 38 Essays, omitting Of Religion and Of Superstition, and making up the same number as the edition of 1612 by adding two Essays, Of Honour and Reputation, and Of Seditions and Troubles. In this latter it follows most nearly, but not entirely, the unpublished MS. of 1607–12. Elsewhere there are one or two noteworthy changes in the text. In the Essay Of Goodness, and Goodness of Nature, in place of 'one of the doctors of Italy, Nicolas Machiavell,' it reads 'quel empio Nicolo Machiavello.' Again, in the Essay Of Seditions and Troubles, instead of 'as Machiavell well notes,' we have 'come ben osserva un scrittore,' whether as part of an obvious design to suit the book to its intended Catholic readers, or because the observation in question is not to be found in Machiavelli, and in point of fact had not been found anywhere.

In 1619, there appeared a French translation, made or edited by Sir Arthur Gorges. We have no proof that Bacon had anything to do with it. In its table of contents we have the titles of 40 Essays, viz. 1–38, as in the edition of 1612; then 39, D'honneur et Reputation, and 40, De Seditions et Troubles. But in the translation itself Essay 40 does not appear. After Essay 39 come the words 'l'fin,' and there the book ends. Even if the missing Essay had been there, it would have proved nothing as to Bacon's connexion with the book, since it had been already given to the world in the Italian version of the year before. The translation is on the whole well done. It avoids some of the obvious errors of the Latin, but in many

places it is so slavishly literal, that it gives no clue to the sense in which the translator has understood the original text.

There are also two other French translations by Baudoin, little known and little worth knowing, published in 1621 and in 1626. The earlier of them has 38 Essays, seemingly trans lated or rather paraphrased, from the Italian, which it follows both in the Essays chosen and in the peculiar order in which they come. The Translation of 1626 has 56 of the 58 Essays of the English edition of 1625, omitting Of Delays and Of Gardens. Some of its renderings suggest that the translator must have had the Latin version before him, in whole or in part. It has the almost certain mark of a copy—an agreement in mistakes.

Lord Macaulay, in his Essay on 'Lord Bacon,' contrasting a passage from the earliest edition of the Essays with an ornate passage from the last edition, remarks that his style was continually becoming richer and softer. There are certainly marked differences of style in the three editions of the Essays. The first edition is compressed, bald, full of condensed thought, but utterly devoid of ornament. The edition of 1612 is occasionally ornate, its sentences run more smoothly and continuously; but force and precision are its main characteristics throughout. In the latest edition the ornate work becomes very much more frequent: there are long sustained passages of easy eloquence, and sentences here and there of singular and unaffected beauty, not thrust in, but flowing on continuously with the rest, and thus testifying to the all-round excellence of work which suffers nothing by its neighbourhood to the very best. But it is not certain, even so, that Bacon's style had changed at either of the later years. He was employing a different style not because he had gained new powers, but because it pleased him then to use powers which he had previously suffered to lie dormant, as unfit for the special purpose which he had in view. We have, for instance, among his earliest writings, his Advertisement touching controversies in the Church of England, from which some of the most ornate passages in the last edition of the Essays have been borrowed

and worked in. The religious meditations, translated in 1598, have furnished passages for other parts. His Advancement of Learning was given to the world in 1605, i.e. between the first and second editions of the Essays. It contains several passages of no common eloquence, and of richness both of thought and language. Among his latest works, is the History of Henry the Seventh, written 'in so sweet a style, that like manna it pleaseth the taste of all palates[1].' But of ornate work it has hardly so much as a trace. The fact seems to be that Bacon had at all times almost any style at command, and that he varies his style with the occasion, becoming all things in turn so as to ensure getting a hearing, trying one experiment after another, and giving proof of mastery in each. Just as in his philosophical works, he writes sometimes with an air of modesty, and as one who is driven in his own despite to assert himself; at other times with the utmost scorn for those whose opinions he is controverting—'tanquam sui certus et de alto despiciens,' but always with the resolve in one way or in the other to make himself heard and listened to; so in his writings generally, he passes from style to style so as by some style to command attention, thus experimenting in the manner as well as in the matter of his works. To speak therefore of Bacon's style is in strict terms impossible. Almost the only attribute common to his writings is that they bear the mark of a grand and confident self-esteem, sometimes directly assertive, sometimes condescending, sometimes scornful, sometimes disguised under a transparent affectation of modesty. But in one form or another it never fails, and it gives his writings at once their special characteristic and not the least part of their charm.

There is one especial characteristic of Bacon's manner which does not admit of being illustrated except at a prohibitive length; his long magnificent roll of sentence after sentence, each falling into its place, each adding new weight to what has gone before it, and all together uniting to complete the entire effect. Each

[1] Baker's Chronicle, p. 426 (Ed. 1679).

sentence in its turn comes upon the reader as a surprise. The plan evolves itself as it proceeds, and it is as forming part of the plan that each sentence, excellent in itself, derives new excellence as a consistent part of the whole compound design. It is as if by stroke after stroke laid on the canvas by some great master, a picture had come into being, living and growing under his hand, and gaining new expressiveness at each added touch. The two Essays Of Atheism and Of Superstition will serve to exemplify what is meant. The Essay Of Truth, Of Unity in Religion, and the early part of the Essay Of Judicature, are hardly less signal examples of it. They carry the reader along with them in delighted wonder, and it is not until they leave him that the thought suggests itself that he has been in the hand of a consummate master of his art. As he reads on he forgets the workman in the work; he has no space or leisure for any other thoughts than the successive phases of the work suggest.

As for single passages of transcendent excellence, they are thickly scattered over the Essays. 'The great winding-sheets that cover all are deluges and earthquakes.' What a picture of level desolation do these few words present. Again, in the Essay Of Truth: 'The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense: the last was the light of reason; and his Sabbath work ever since is the illumination of his spirit. First, he breathed light upon the face of the matter, or chaos; then he breathed light into the face of man; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen.' Again, in the Essay Of Friendship: 'But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth; for a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love.' No terms are adequate to do justice to the crowded excellences of such passages as these. They are the work of a great writer at his best, the highest effort of an art that defies analysis, simple, unaffected, sublime.

Very noticeable too is Bacon's way of putting forward a subject, of handling it at length and with signs of great care, of interesting the reader about it, and then at last of waiving it

away as undeserving notice after all. 'Enough of these toys,' are the concluding words of the Essay Of Masks and Triumphs. They might be interpolated in a dozen other places where the unexpressed contempt of Bacon for his subject is scarcely less marked. For grandeur—not to say, insolence—of manner, admirable as a piece of art, what could be more impressive than the end of the Essay Of Deformity? 'And, therefore, let it not be marvelled if sometimes they prove excellent persons; as was Agesilaüs, Zanger the son of Solyman, Aesop, Gasca president of Peru; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them, with others.' It is as if Bacon were calling up before him the spirits of the mighty dead, and were judging them on their merits, and assigning his proper place to each in an off-hand sort of way, with an easy air of admitted superiority and of full right to pronounce.

'The English reader,' says Mr. Wright, in the introductory remarks to his very valuable edition of the Essays, 'will find few difficulties in Bacon's language or style.' It would be more correct to say that almost every page of the Essays bristles with difficulties, some of them the more likely to mislead, because even a careful reader, not familiar with the language of Bacon's age, might fail to detect them for what they are. In Essay 3, for instance, 'points not merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention,' would almost of course be interpreted in a sense the exact opposite of that which it is intended to bear. In the same Essay, where Bacon says, 'if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally,' no one would discover without assistance that 'less partially' meant here with less of party spirit, and that the seeming opposition between the two adverbs was a mere trick of words. So in Essay 18, where a change of lodging is said to be 'a great adamant of acquaintance,' the meaning would be missed by those who understood 'adamant' in the only modern sense of the word. Often, too, Bacon writes in a language which was already becoming antiquated. 'Verbum inusitatum tanquam scopulum vita' is a golden rule which he much too frequently neglects. Not only does he introduce words which were passing out of common use, but he

coins new words of his own, mostly from the Latin or French. This had become the fashion of the age. His literary work was done at a time when the so-called 'pure and reformed English,' known as Euphuism, had come into vogue, and had infected the style of the day. Bacon was no Euphuist, but he did not altogether escape the common contagion. He thus frequently fails to 'utter his mind in plain words, such as are generally received,' as Wilson[1] at an earlier date bids the orator to do.

That his style is faultless no one could say. Obscure, ungrammatical, pedantic, are the epithets which it frequently calls up. 'I send herein,' writes Lady Bacon to her son Anthony, 'your brother's letter. Construe the interpretation. I do not understand his enigmatical folded writing[2].' These words might stand as no unfit description of some parts of the Essays. After taking into account Bacon's very frequent Latinisms, and his use of words in so vague a way that it is almost impossible to be sure what he intends by them, there would still remain a separate list to be made of his difficulties of grammar or of construction: his indistinct use of pronouns, his sentences that run on awhile and are never completed, and his wilfully perplexed style, where, out of three contemporary translators, no two agree in the rendering. It may be a question how far these and like faults in the Essays may have been intentional on the writer's part. He is obscure, sometimes because he endeavours to put more meaning into his words than they can bear; sometimes from an early habit of obscurity, or from an affected manner of speech where he has really nothing to say, and trusts to the chapter of accidents and to men's charitable speeches to find a right sense for his indistinct oracular utterances. It is impossible therefore to say, with Mr. Wright, that the English reader will find few difficulties in Bacon's language or style.

One peculiarity which deserves notice is the frequency with which he repeats himself. This is not very obvious in the Essays, until the reader comes to compare them with the rest

[1] Art of Rhetoric, p. 3 (Ed. 1553).

[2] Letters and Life, i. 245.

of his works. A complete list of parallel passages would show much of the Essays as compilations carefully selected and strung together, with just enough new matter to give them consistency and connexion and to fit them into their new place. This is most marked, of course, in Bacon's most ornate work. He has gems of thought and language, but he does not scatter them about with the uncalculating profusion of a Shakespeare, not 'like wealthy men who care not how they give,' but rather like those who are husbanding their store with care, doling it out with measure and method to make its contents go as far as they can. So we find frequently the same idea, the same form of words, the same favourite conceit brought out and compelled to do duty over and over again.

It appears, too, in several of the Essays, that Bacon had formed no very distinct notion of his subject. He sets down what the title happens to suggest to him, and if the words of the title carry more meanings than one, or if their meaning has been suffered to remain indeterminate in his mind, the contents of the Essay shift about accordingly. In the Essay, e.g. Of Truth, he takes the word first as equal to correctness of thought, and thence passes to what he terms the truth of civil business, or in other words, to the wholly distinct virtue of truthfulness. The Essay Of Envy is even more composite than this. The two forms of envy of which it treats, private envy and public envy, have little or nothing in common, and some of the remarks on private envy relate properly to a different vice—to the ἐπιχαιρεκακία of the Greeks. Those who 'think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings' are certainly malevolent, but envious they are not. Again, in the Essay Of Ambition, it is not easy to see why 'to take a soldier without ambition is to pull off his spurs.' Ambition is not commonly the virtue or vice to which a soldier as such is prone. The love of glory, the desire of earning distinction in the wars, may act powerfully in aid of his sense of public duty, but these are not forms of ambition. The Essay Of the Vicissitude of Things is almost necessarily a composite piece of work throughout. 'Things' is a very wide term; whatever

sense we give to it, things change as time proceeds, so that a treatise on change generally may pick and choose its matter at random without danger of missing its proposed mark. The subject in the Essay Of Beauty is more limited, and admits of being more exactly defined. In point of fact, there are contradictory senses given to it, and Bacon roves freely from one to the other, asserting in one sentence what he distinctly negatives in the next.

From this, and from other causes, the matter of the Essays is of very unequal value. They are at their best when they are dealing with the practical rules and cautions to be observed in public and in private life. This is especially the part which comes home to men's business and bosoms. Bacon is no optimist. He has no sentiment to lead him astray. He sees clearly what men are at their worst, by what mean motives they are impelled, what traps they lay for one another, what follies and inconsistencies they fall into. He knows their tricks, and he drags them out into full daylight and exposes them for what they really are. To the careless cursory reader, much of what he has written will seem commonplace enough. His rule, for instance, that 'it is vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images: and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons,' —this seems so obvious as to be hardly worth mentioning. Obvious or not, it has yet to be recognised and applied. Every day, when some public scandal has to be excused, some gross negligence or breach of trust to be explained away, or to be so shifted about that no one can be fixed with responsibility for it, we hear it said that it is the system, not the men who have been in fault—as if any system could work properly when the human agents are careless and venal and indifferent, or as if any system could fail to work well if the men were earnest and capable, and not satisfied with a perfunctory discharge of their parts. Again, his remarks on the tyranny of custom, 'how men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images

and engines'—all this has been said a dozen times over before Bacon's day and after it; it would be all accepted as true; it comes home to men's business, but not therefore to their bosoms. They do not know themselves for what they are. So, too, with the grand reflexions which Bacon's own experience of life has suggested and brought home to him; the emptiness of things which he sees men struggling for; the disappointments and drawbacks which attend the most complete success; the servitude of attainment and the uncompensated misery of failure. All these have been the common themes of moralists at all ages of the world. Bacon could speak as one who had been an actor in the great scene, and who was thus marked off from the common crowd of mere sermonizers and rhetoricians.

But when he comes to deal with great questions of policy, he has not so much to offer. His chief Essay on public affairs is that in which he undertakes to pronounce on 'the true greatness of kingdoms and estates.' This is a test subject; one which calls for a display of the highest philosophical statesmanship. But how does Bacon deal with it? The true greatness of kingdoms he finds in the extent of territory. The true rule for obtaining this greatness is for the state which aims at it to keep its teeth and claws in constant readiness, whether to guard its own past thieveries, or to snatch something more from any neighbour whom it may find weak or unprepared. Here, as in his Essay Of Empire, he writes as an advocate of war, and lays down rules which would serve effectively to ensure its occurrence and continuance. The position which he thus takes—in singular contrast to his earlier pacific utterances—has been explained by his defenders as the result of political prescience. Foreseeing the approaching struggle between the Commons and the Crown, he did his best to engage the nation in a foreign war, as the best chance of preventing differences at home. But this defence Bacon himself has negatived in express terms. It has been insinuated, he writes, 'that if a State, out of the distemper of their own body, do fear sedition and intestine troubles to break out amongst themselves, they may discharge their own ill humours upon a foreign war for

a cure. And this kind of cure was tendered by Jasper Coligni, Admiral of France, to Charles the Ninth, the French King, when by a vive and forcible persuasion he moved him to a war upon Flanders, for the better extinguishment of the civil wars of France. But neither was that counsel prosperous: neither will I maintain that position; for I will never set politics against ethics; especially for that true ethics are but as a handmaid to divinity and religion[1].' That this fine disclaimer is consistent with Bacon's language in the Essays and elsewhere, it would be no easy task to prove. I quote it not with any belief that it represents his real sentiments; but simply to show that as far as he was promoting war either for political objects at home, or to suit his own private ends, he has pronounced sentence against himself.

It will be remarked, too, that in the Essay Of Empire he writes about kings with no sense of the stimulus which an exalted position and consciousness of great power must have upon a worthy nature. The 'non sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo' is not suggested to him by his subject. Kings he describes as at the highest: they therefore want matter of desire; the object of their lives is to amuse themselves or to make themselves safe in their place. At the close of the Essay there is just a hint given about the effects which follow from their good or bad conduct, but the whole body of the Essay follows a different line of thought, and is aptly and adequately illustrated by the low and unworthy specimens which he chooses as fit types of the depositaries of sovereign power.

There are other matters in which Bacon's errors and shortcomings are those of the age rather than of the man. When he wrote, for example, on the laws of economic science or of trade, there was little or nothing of any permanent value which he could pick out and appropriate from among the current notions of his day. We find, accordingly, that in dealing with this whole class of questions, he is at his worst. On his views about Usury I have commented at length in the illustrations at

[1] Letters and Life, vii. 478.

the end of the Essay. In his views about trade he takes the mercantile theory as his guide. The increase of any state must, he asserts, be at the expense of the foreigner, since whatever is somewhere gotten must be somewhere lost. What this means appears clearly in his letter of advice to Villiers: 'Let the foundation of a profitable trade be thus laid, that the exportation of home commodities be more in value than the importation of foreign, so we shall be sure that the stocks of the kingdom shall yearly increase, for then the balance of trade must be returned in money or bullion[1].' In other words, an increase of the precious metals is the test of a profitable trade, and is the main benefit which trade with the foreigner can bring. It is hardly necessary, at this time of day, to expose such a fallacy as this. At the time when it was written, it passed current as true, and that it was Bacon's honest belief there is no reason to doubt. But when he says, in a letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, that a discovery that some Dutch merchants had carried gold and silver out of the country, in exchange presumably for goods, was a happy thing, since it would serve to demonstrate that 'Scotland is not the leech (as some discoursers say), but the Netherlanders, that suck the kingdom of treasure[2],' or in other words, that the king's lavish gifts to his Scotch favourites did not impoverish the country as much as a give-and-take trade with the Dutch, he may perhaps be suspected of having gone a little further than an honest belief could carry him.

The truth is that Bacon in his Essays, and in his writings generally, had set himself an impossible task. At an early age he had taken all knowledge for his province, and it was not easy for him to make good so large a claim as this. Where he had thorough knowledge, he was singularly able to display it, and to obtain credit for the whole of it. 'In law,' said Queen Elizabeth of him, 'he shows all he has, and is not deep.' Deep or not, he had the same skill in all subjects of showing all he had, 'omnium quae dixerat feceratque arte quâdam ostentator.' Frequently, too, he contrives to show more than he has, like

[1] Letters and Life, vi. 22.

[2] Letters and Life, vi. 374.

those whom he describes as always affecting to keep back somewhat, and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may not well speak. But with or without precise knowledge, there are some points of style in which Bacon never fails. He has always magnificence of diction, amplitude of promise, an outline of wide range, and an almost divine satisfaction in the work as very good. These are excellences of no common order; they give proof of consummate literary art, but they are not to be taken for more than they are worth, or for something which they are not.

For accuracy in detail Bacon had no care whatever, and this again may be set down as probably a part of his craft. Carelessness of detail is certainly one of the characteristics of Bacon's Essays. Laboured and elaborate as they are in parts, and claiming to be written for all time as long as books shall last, they are none the less crowded with errors and misquotations, or are borne out in parts by manufactured evidence distorted from its original sense. Mr. Spedding, who holds a perpetual brief for Bacon, does all he can to extenuate the fault of misquotation, or even to put it forward as a merit. Commenting on a remark of Dr. Rawley,—that 'if Bacon had occasion to repeat another man's words after him, he had an use and faculty to dress them in better vestments and apparel than they had before; so that the author should find his own speech much amended, and yet the substance of it still retained,'—he says that this is probably the true explanation of Bacon's habit of inaccurate quotation. 'In quoting an author's words,' says Mr. Spedding, 'he very often quotes inaccurately. Sometimes, no doubt, this was unintentional, the fault of his memory; but more frequently, I suspect, it was done deliberately; for the sake of presenting the substance in a better form, or a form better suited to the particular occasion. In citing the evidence of witnesses, on the contrary, in support of a narrative statement or an argument upon matter of fact, he is always very careful[1].'

[1] Works. i. p. 13.

That Bacon frequently quoted from memory seems certain. His words in Essay 4, 'Salomon, I am sure, saith, It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence,' are a sort of notice to the reader that he intends to rely upon his memory, and that he does not think it worth while, or will not be at the trouble, to verify what he thus quotes. We find, accordingly, that the Essays abound in misquotations of a more or less important kind. Some of them are mere blunders. The sentence quoted is changed neither for the better nor for the worse, or is put into the wrong mouth or made referable to the wrong person, when the right mouth or the right person would have served equally well. But the distortion is occasionally more grave than this, and is of a kind which Mr. Spedding's laudatory defence does not cover or excuse. Let us look, for example, at the first words of the first Essay Of Truth. 'What is truth? said jesting Pilate.' Whately, in his note on this, gives what seem good reasons for believing that Pilate was not jesting or scoffing, but was wishing for an answer to a question which he was asking seriously. We read, a little further down, 'One of the fathers, in great severity, called poesy *vinum daemonum*.' This passage has been searched for by generations of commentators, but it has never been found, and there is good reason to think that it does not exist. Towards the end of the Essay—'Montaigne saith prettily:' and words follow which are not Montaigne's, but are stated by him in express terms to be the words of some one else—an ancient. Last of all comes the magnificent peroration, and the Essay ends with—'it being foretold that, when Christ cometh, he shall not find faith upon the earth.' This is not foretold: the question is simply asked whether it will be so or not, and with no reference whatever to the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith as the last peal to call down the judgments of God. Now considering the subject of the Essay—Of Truth—this is pretty well. Again, in Essay 10, Of Love, Bacon says, 'it is a poor saying of Epicurus, *Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus:* as if man, made for the contemplation of heaven and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make him-

self subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are), yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purposes.' This is a complete misrepresentation of the meaning. The saying is not that of a lover, as Bacon wrongly assumes it to be. It is quite clearly the saying of a philosopher, satisfied to hold intercourse with the single friend whom he is addressing, and disdaining the voice of the multitude. Again, in Essay 43, wishing to prove that persons in years have a beauty above that of the young, he gives as an authority '*pulchrorum autumnus pulcher.*' It should be *pulchrorum etiam autumnus pulcher*, the omitted word destroying the argument which the mutilated version supports. Again, in Essay 42, he speaks of 'such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years can uphold; as was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith in effect, *Ultima primis cedebant.*' Here, again, is a misrepresentation of what Livy says, and this, too, where Bacon is citing evidence 'in support of a narrative statement.' That, in his Essay Of Friendship, he misrepresents and misinterprets Aristotle, is almost a matter of course. Curious, too, is his occasional way of building passages into his text in a sense wholly different from that which they bore in the original.' He speaks, e. g. in Essay 44, of deformed persons being, 'as the Scripture saith, void of natural affection;' and again, in Essay 56, of 'that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, *Pluet super eos laqueos;* for penal laws pressed are a shower of snares upon the people.' It is not worth while to add further instances of the mere inaccuracies which occur on almost every page. Their frequency and seeming wilfulness may perhaps raise a suspicion that Bacon in introducing them has been observing his own rule—'if you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought another time to know that you know not.'

On religious toleration Bacon writes somewhat doubtfully. In his Essay Of Unity in Religion he declares against 'sanguinary persecutions to force consciences,' but he goes on to imply that in cases of overt scandal or blasphemy even sanguinary persecutions may be justified. The Essay however

concludes in another strain. 'Ira hominis non implet justitiam Dei: and it was a notable observation of a wise father, and no less ingenuously confessed, that those which held and persuaded pressure of consciences were commonly interessed therein themselves for their own ends.' This seems to condemn every form of persecution, mild or sanguinary, which has for its object to force consciences. But if this is what Bacon meant, it is certainly not what he either practised, or advised, or praised. In his letter to Villiers, he lays it down that if any 'who are known schismaticks transplant themselves into plantations abroad, they may be sent for back upon the first notice: such persons are not fit to lay the foundation of a new colony, in which there is to be the same purity of religion and the same discipline for Church-government as at home[1].' It is clear, too, from this and from other passages that Roman Catholics did not come within his limits of toleration. It is difficult to be sure in every instance how far his objections to them were on political rather than on religious grounds. But we find, in his speech as Lord Keeper to the Judges before the circuit, good evidence that his objections were not only political: 'Of all other things, I must begin as the King begins; that is, with the cause of religion; and especially the hollow church-papist. St. Augustine hath a good comparison of such men, affirming that they are like the roots of nettles, which themselves sting not, but yet they bear all the stinging leaves. Let me know of such roots, and I will root them out of the country[2].'

Bishop Earle, in his Microcosmographia, chap. 10, gives us the interpretation of the above phrase. He defines the Church Papist as 'one that parts his religion betwixt his conscience and his purse, and comes to Church not to serve God, but the King. The face of the Law makes him wear the mask of the Gospel, which he uses not as a means to save his soul but his charges,' &c. &c. It seems clear then that Bacon required something more from Roman Catholics than inoffensive personal conduct and outward conformity to the law.

[1] Letters and Life, vi. 21, 22, 52.

[2] Letters and Life, vi. 213.

In dealing with heretics, there were no lengths which he was not prepared to approve. King James, in 'a declaration against Vorstius,' a Leyden professor suspected of Socinian views, had not only asserted it to be the duty of a Christian ruler to extirpate heresies, but had strongly urged the United Provinces to deal hardly with Vorstius, and if they did not burn him as they ought to do, at least to banish him from their country[1]. Vorstius was not burnt, but he was deprived of his professorship and was banished. Bacon again and again praises James for the share he had undoubtedly had in bringing about this result[2].

There is nothing in all this that calls for any special comment. It shows only that Bacon's views on religious toleration were not very different from the current views of his day, not very different from those of Hooker before him, or of Thorndyke at a later date.

Not much of Bacon's character and mode of life can be seen on the surface of his Essays. Here and there we have an indication, sometimes of what he was, sometimes of what he believed himself to be, or of what he wished to be thought to be. His Essay Of Love is most commonly referred to as giving proof of a cold calculating temper, and of a firm resolve to allow nothing to turn him aside from his efforts after advancement in life. His Essay On Friendship is written in a warmer strain, not wanting in enthusiasm, and with some grand rhetorical passages. But when we look closely at its contents we see that out of Aristotle's three forms of friendship, Bacon recognizes only the two lower forms, that which looks to pleasure, and that which looks to use, and he writes grandly about both of them. But beyond these he does not attempt to go. Of the highest friendship, that which binds men together by the mutual delight which each feels in the society of one whose noble character keeps his own better impulses quick and lively, and who is loved, not as agreeable to his friend, not as likely to be of service to him, but as presenting a type of excellence similar

[1] The Works of the Most High and Mighty Prince James, published by the Bishop of Winchester (1616), pp. 349, &c.

[2] Letters and Life, iv. 313, note 2, and v. 142.

to his own, and as thus bringing into more frequent and vivid consciousness the highest faculties of his soul—of all this Bacon has not one word. The Essay Of Goodness, and Goodness of Nature, shows us a man not insensible to the social duties of life, and not incapable of high thoughts and aims. So, too, in the Essay Of Ambition, the vantage-ground to do good is put forward as the most worthy object of aspiration. We are not to treat this as words, mere words, no matter from the heart. Bacon may be credited with having felt and intended what he writes; but that he allowed such visionary ideas to stand in the way of his advancement, or that he was minded in any way to sacrifice himself for the good of others, his whole public career too certainly disproves. The plea that has been put in for him, that he sought place and power only that he might be able to do more for the advancement of science than he could have done in a private station, is hardly borne out by facts. How, it may be asked, did he forward the interests of science from the vantage-ground of great place? That he managed to link his own name to the scientific movement of the age is nothing to the point here. That he endeavoured to persuade the king to divert for *inter alia* the endowment of professorships such part of Sutton's Estate as he did not keep for himself is something, but it is not much. That he left by will a sum of money for the founding of two lectureships, on natural philosophy and on the sciences, is open to his own remark that, 'if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.' This censure is doubly applicable to Bacon's posthumous liberality, for when his estate came to be administered, there were no available effects, and his two lectureships were never founded.

There are many passages in the Essays which will serve to illustrate the marked contrast between Bacon's words and his deeds, between his abortive impulses and his acts. His Essay Of Judicature gives a tolerably complete sketch of what an upright judge should be. 'Above all things integrity is his proper virtue'—a strange remark from the pen of one who had been disgraced for taking bribes, and had been forced to make

full public confession of his several and repeated misdeeds. 'In causes of life and death, judges ought (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to remember mercy,'—this from a contriver of the scheme by which Raleigh was to be brought to the scaffold under show of legal process, to please Gondomar and Spain. No one has laid bare the arts of flattery with more skill or with more scorn, being all the while a gross and shameless flatterer, in an age of gross flatterers. So, too, in his Essay Of Seeming Wise, he pours contempt on devices which he himself habitually practised. So, too, he can see and approve the singular charm of the 'sapientum templa serena,' from which the wise man looks down on the vain and misdirected efforts of the wandering crowd below; but he is himself one of the crowd, engaged in an incessant struggle 'contendere nobilitate, Noctes atque dies niti praestante labore Ad summas emergere opes rerumque potiri,' shrinking from no baseness which seems likely to help him on his way, and forced at last to retire defeated and disgraced, but unable even so to resign himself to the lot which he affects to consider as the best and most choiceworthy. We are not to conclude from all this that Bacon was a conscious hypocrite. Strangely enough he seems never to have been aware of the enormity of his own misdeeds, and he commends himself to the approval of posterity with an apparently sincere belief that he had done nothing to be ashamed of, and that his character would be finally cleared. This is a peculiarity worth notice, and one which the Essays serve especially to bring out. With all their faults and omissions, they show us Bacon at his best; Bacon as he thought himself to be and as he wished the world to think of him; Bacon as he might have been if his better nature had prevailed, and if no temptation had come in the way to bear down his weak intermittent tendencies after good. The state of mind which they exhibit is thus paradoxical in the extreme. We have a man conscious of many meannesses and of some downright crimes, and well aware that they were almost as well known to other people as to himself, but even in his private prayers finding nothing worse to say about himself than that he had not turned

his powers to what he thinks might have been their best use, that he had taken part in public affairs while he had better have been busy with his studies; for the rest, in all sincerity taking credit for his past life, and laying down rules of conduct, excellent no doubt many of them, but just those which he had most signally failed to observe. The key to the problem may perhaps be found in Bacon's belief in his own high mission, and in the practical immunities attaching to it. If he was indeed a man marked out as the guide and benefactor of his species, born, as he himself says, for the service of mankind, and thus mixing with his fellow-men not as an equal, but as a heaven-sent superior and judge, it is less strange that he should presume somewhat on his position, and should relax in his own favour such portions of the moral law as he found it inconvenient to observe. Instances of self-delusion such as this have been seen at almost all times. They were not unknown in Bacon's day; and they became more common still afterwards. The fifth-monarchy man, possessed of an inward light or illuminated by the Holy Spirit, could assert for himself a dispensing power as wide as Bacon's and as serviceable for his own ends. It is hard on any other theory to understand how Bacon could have maintained to the last a conscious dignity and self-respect.

I shall not attempt to enter into the details of Bacon's career. They have been written many times over, and from many different points of view. Mr. Spedding's edition of his Life and Letters gives the whole story fully and completely. No fact or letter or sentence, however discreditable, is suppressed. They are all set down and they are all explained away, and Mr. Spedding's faith in Bacon remains unshaken to the end. But a panegyric which is for ever on the defensive is apt to raise more suspicions than it lays at rest, especially when we see to what strange shifts Mr. Spedding is occasionally driven in his loyal resolve to make out his case. Professor Fowler, in his preface to the Novum Organum (second edition), writes more judicially. His line of defence is that Bacon's fatal fault was extreme carelessness in money matters; that this was the

root from which most of his errors and misfortunes sprang; that his constant pecuniary difficulties led as their natural result to undue office-seeking and a constant craving for preferment; and that the habits thus formed in early life continued to operate, as in point of fact such habits frequently do, in circumstances different from those by which they were originally formed. This, however, is an explanation rather than a defence; and in Professor Fowler's carefully guarded language it does not so much as attempt to explain much that is in sad need of being explained. Bacon's private diary and rules of conduct are a hard morsel for his admirers. Mr. Spedding has an ingenious defence for them. The things, he says, of which a man needs to remind himself are those which he is apt to forget. His inference is that arts and tricks to curry favour with the great and to get on in the world were naturally distasteful to Bacon, and that though he thought it right to practise them with a view to ulterior objects and to important patriotic ends, he had to work against the grain in doing so. Professor Fowler says frankly that Bacon's private memoranda are 'revelations not of a pleasant character.' His doubt is whether most other public men would show much better if the world had as clear an insight into their secret thoughts and purposes,—whether, in short, Bacon was much more of a rogue than public men have a sort of prescriptive right to be. Not less varied has been the estimate of Bacon's scientific work. We find him exalted as the founder of modern science, the pioneer and guide who has shewn the way to all who have come after him,

> . . . 'Large-browed Verulam,
> The first of those who know.'

And we find him set down as a rank impostor, who has discovered nothing; whose method, as far it is correct, was one which the world had already found out and put in practice for itself; and who has given himself airs as a scientific leader and director, while in point of fact he was lagging somewhere in the rear, well-nigh out of sight, and often in error as to the route by which the main body was pressing forward. His advocates

insist, with justice, on his magnificent scientific aims, on his lordly sweep over the wide field of knowledge, on his exposure and correction of errors and of faulty methods which for long ages had been tried with no result; and their regret is that his immersion in public affairs prevented him from completing in detail the vast plan which he has sketched out. His detractors urge that the destructive part of his work came too late to be of use; that the methods which he condemned had already ceased to be employed; that he failed admittedly in his attempts at discovery and construction; and when they read his remarks on spirits, on the transmutation of metals, and on the cause of the sweet dews which fall from the end of the rainbow where it rests, they affect to doubt whether all this would have come to much, if the labour of a lifetime had been given to it.

But all these are curious questions which I must leave in other hands. My chief concern here is with Bacon's literary work. The Essays alone give an imperfect view of this. They show some only of his numerous and varied styles. But they have qualities of their own for which we shall find no exact counterpart elsewhere. What these are I have already endeavoured to set down and in some part to illustrate. It is not only that the matter of the Essays is often of the very highest value; that they give us the experience of one who had looked on life from many sides, the compressed wisdom of an observer to whom the ways and thoughts of men had long been as an open book. Their perfection is rather in the combination of the matter and the form. The language in which they are written seems the proper clothing of the ideas. Even where the matter is valueless, there is consummate art in the garb of exalted wisdom which the author can fling about his meanest and most commonplace thoughts, yet without the least obvious unfitness between the language and the thought. His oracular manner; his sudden breaks, which leave the reader still eager and expectant; his crowded fulness of meaning; his wide range of thought; his seeming insight into the very centre of things; his unruffled calmness—there may be a trick of style in all this, but it is one which has not yet grown stale, and the secret of

which the world has never yet found out. It cannot indeed be said of Bacon, as Johnson has said of Addison, that those who wish to excel in the same department of work must give their days and nights to his volumes. He is not a model for imitation, in language or in the structure of his sentences. He is a classic of a past age. He writes in a fashion which the modern world has long ceased to use, and it is impossible that it should ever return to it. But as a classic he will keep his place, and by universal agreement his place is in the first rank.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

P. 6, l. 5, and note on p. 9, *for* schools *read* school.

P. 9, note on l. 6, *add* Pattison mentions the following among 'the characteristic sentences which Montaigne has inscribed on the cornices of his library,

"Nostra vagatur
In tenebris nec caeca potest mens cernere verum,"

from Lucretius; and

παντὶ λόγῳ λόγος ἴσος ἀντίκειται·

from Sextus Empiricus.' Reprint of Essays, vol. ii. p. 341.

P. 21, l. 3 and note, *for* zealants *read* zelants.

P. 24, l. 29, *for* councils *and* council *read* counsels *and* counsel.

P. 34, l. 7 from bottom, *for* version of p. 184 *read* version of p. 1814.

P. 56, note [a], *for* Essay 27 *read* Essay 28.

P. 67, at end of note on p. 60, l. 19, *add* Conf. also, Frazer: The Golden Bough, Cap. III. sec. 13, on 'Transference of ills,' giving numerous instances in proof of the prevalence of a like belief. I extract the following.—A Bavarian cure for the fever is to write upon a piece of paper—'Fever stay away, I am not at home'—and to put the paper in some person's pocket. The latter then catches the fever, and the patient is rid of it. Another cure is for the patient to stick a twig of elder-tree in the ground without speaking. The fever then adheres to the twig, and whoever pulls up the twig will catch the disease. Vol. II. p. 153.

P. 95, l. 32, and note on passage at p. 103, *for* Machiavel *read* Macciavel.

P. 103, note on 95, l. 7, *after* Fragment of an Essay on Fame *add* Works, vi. p. 519.

P. 186, l. 34 and P. 187, l. 6, *for* Comineus *read* Commineus.

P. 282, l. 12, *for* disemboltura *read* desemboltura; and *add* But, in some specimens of Bacon's handwriting, the b and v are so nearly alike, that it is quite possible that Bacon wrote, correctly, 'desemvoltura,' and that the 'desemboltura' in the text is a printer's error.

P. 298, note on l. 26. The 'certain suspicions' may perhaps have been about a proposal of the Dutch Commissioners to 'join their stocks into one bank' with the English East India Company, and to trade conjointly for the future. Vide Letters and Life, vi. 450.

P. 357, note on p. 355, l. 14. The passage in Livy which Bacon had in mind was probably bk. xxxv. cap. 49, 'Quod si quis antea ignorasset quae res Antiochum et Aetolos conjunxisset, ex legatorum sermone potuisse apparere: mentiendo invicem jactandoque vires quas non haberent inflasse vana spe atque inflatos esse.' Conf. Works, vii. 171, 172.

THE

ESSAYES

OR

COUNSELS,

CIVILL AND MORALL,

OF

FRANCIS LO. *VERVLAM*,

VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

Newly Enlarged.

LONDON,
Printed by JOHN HAVILAND
For HANNA BARRET and RICHARD WHITAKER,
And are to be sold at the signe of the Kings head in Pauls Church-yard
1625.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

To the Right Honorable My Very Good Lo. The Duke of *Buckingham* his *Grace*, Lo. High *Admirall* of *England.*

Excellent Lo.

Salomon saies; *A good Name is as a precious oyntment;* And I assure my selfe, such wil your *Graces* Name bee, with Posteritie. For your Fortune, and Merit both, have been Eminent. And you have planted Things, that are like to last. I doe now publish my *Essayes;* which, of all my other workes, have been most Currant: For that, as it seems, they come home, to Mens Businesse, and Bosomes. I have enlarged them, both in Number, and Weight; So that they are indeed a New Worke. I thought it therefore agreeable, to my Affection, and Obligation to your Grace, to prefix your Name before them, both in English, and in Latine. For I doe conceive, that the Latine Volume of them, (being in the Universall Language) may last, as long as Bookes last. My *Instauration*, I dedicated to the *King:* My *Historie* of Henry *the Seventh* (which I have now also translated into Latine) and my *Portions* of *Naturall History*, to the *Prince:* And these I dedicate to your *Grace;* Being of the best Fruits, that by the good Encrease, which *God* gives to my Pen and Labours, I could yeeld. *God* leade your *Grace* by the Hand.

Your Graces most Obliged and faithfull Servant,

Fr. St. Alban.

THE ESSAYES

OR

COUNSELS CIVILL AND MORALL

OF

FRANCIS BACON, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

I.

OF TRUTH.

WHAT is truth? said jesting[a] Pilate; and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting[b] free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits[c], which are of the same veins[d], though there be not so much blood in them as was in those

[a] *jesting*] i. e. scoffing. Lat. *Pilatus derisor.*

[b] *affecting*] i. e. having a liking for. Conf. Essay 47: 'Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much.'

[c] *discoursing wits*] Lat. *ingenia ventosa et discursiva.*

Bacon uses *discourse* in various senses; sometimes, as in the text, = empty talk or chatter.

Wit, he uses sometimes of the faculty; sometimes, as in the text, of the person possessing it. Intellect, or mind, may pass as the nearest modern equivalent for it.

For both the above words, conf. 'Neither is this matter of discourse, except the deep and profound reasons of law which ought chiefly to be searched shall be accounted discourse, as the slighter sort of wits (*scioli*) may esteem them.' Works, vii. 530.

[d] *veins*] i. e. mental habits or tendencies. Conf. Essay 32: 'Certainly he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory.'

of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth; nor again, that when it is found, it imposeth upon[e] men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour; but a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later schools of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies; where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets; nor for advantage, as with the merchant; but for the lie's sake. But[f] I cannot tell: this same truth is a naked and open daylight, that doth not show the masks, and mummeries, and triumphs[g] of the world, half so stately and daintily as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that showeth best by day, but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that showeth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would[h], and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the fathers, in great severity, called poesy 'vinum daemonum,' because it filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in, and settleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of[i]

[e] *imposeth upon*] i. e. lays a restraint upon. Lat. *ex ea inventa cogitationibus imponitur captivitas,* as contrasted with the 'free-will in thinking' of which Bacon has spoken above.

[f] *But* &c.] The Latin gives this *staccato* passage somewhat more trippingly: *Sed nescio quomodo, veritas ista* &c.

[g] *triumphs*] i. e. shows or sports, on a scale of some magnificence.

'Some two days since I saw the prince,
And told him of these triumphs held at Oxford.'
Richard II, act v. sc. 3.

'O, thou art a perpetual triumph, an everlasting bonfire-light.'
1 Henry IV, act iii. sc. 3.

And Essay 37, Of Masques and Triumphs.

[h] *as one would*] Lat. *imaginationes ad libitum.*

[i] *such as we spake of*] i. e. such a lie as, not such a hurt as. The Latin gives

before. But howsoever[k] these things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature. The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense: the last was the light of reason: and his sabbath work ever since is the illumination of his Spirit. First, he breathed light upon the face of the matter, or chaos; then he breathed light into the face of man; and still[l] he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen. The poet that beautified the sect that was otherwise inferior to the rest, saith yet[m] excellently well:—*It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tossed upon the sea: a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle, and to see a battle and the adventures thereof below: but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth*, (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene), *and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below:* so always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly, it is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.

To pass from theological and philosophical truth to the truth of[n] civil business[o]; it will be acknowledged, even by

quite clearly—*mendacium quod a mente imbibitur, nempe ejus generis de quo ante diximus.*

[k] *But howsoever* &c.] i.e. in what way soever it happens that these things are thus. Lat. *utcunque haec ita se habeant.*

[l] *still*] Here, as generally elsewhere, = ever. Conf. e. g. Essay 29: 'For greatness, it maketh to be still for the most part in arms.' Lat. *quasi semper.*

[m] *yet*] This word is not translated in the Latin. It may mean either *further, moreover*, and if so will apply to the entire clause; or, as Mr. Abbott suggests, *in spite of his belonging to an inferior sect*, a sense not well in keeping with the terms of praise with which the unnamed writer is introduced.

[n] *truth of civil business*] The Latin marks distinctly this change in the sense of the word—*ad veritatem aut potius veracitatem.*

[o] *civil business*] i.e. business relating

those that practise it not, that clear and round[p] dealing is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent; which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious; and therefore Montaigne saith prettily, when he inquired the reason why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace, and such an odious charge. Saith he, *If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much to say as that he is brave towards God and a coward towards men. For a lie faces God, and shrinks from man.* Surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last peal[q] to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men: it being foretold that, when Christ cometh, *he shall not find faith upon the earth.*

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 5, l. 5. *sects of Philosophers*] This is probably an allusion to Pyrrho and the sceptical schools, to which Bacon makes express reference in the Nov. Org. Bk. I. aph. 67. The indeterminate language in the Essay would be borne out by the tenets assigned either to these, or to the New Academy, of which Bacon speaks at greater length in the same aphorism: 'Nova Academia Acatalepsiam dogmatizavit et ex professo tenuit. Quae licet honestior ratio sit quam pronuntiandi licentia, quum ipsi pro se dicant se minime

to the intercourse and dealing, in society, of citizen with citizen. Conf. 'Civil knowledge . . . . hath three parts, according to the three summary actions of society: which are Conversation, Negociation, and Government.' Works, iii. 445.

[p] *round*] i.e. straightforward, direct. Conf. Essay 6: 'A show of fearfulness . . . . . doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark.' And, 'So highly esteemed they a plain, simple and round manner of speaking, which compriseth in few words much matter and a sentence massy and sound.' Plutarch, Morals: Of Intemperate Speech; Holland's trans. p. 167.

[q] *it shall be the last peal* &c.] Lat. *istis (quasi ultimis clamoribus) devocabuntur judicia Dei.*

confundere inquisitionem, ut Pyrrho fecit et Ephectici, sed habere quod sequantur ut probabile, licet non habeant quod teneant ut verum; tamen,' etc. And again in aph. 37, he says of the New Academy, 'nihil sciri posse simpliciter asserunt.'

l. 6. *certain discoursing wits*] The reference may be to Franciscus Sanchez, whose treatise, Quod nihil scitur (1576), seems to have been known to Bacon. Sanchez professes to write as a thorough sceptic. He begins his treatise: 'Nec unum hoc scio, me nihil scire. Conjector tamen nec me nec alios. Haec mihi vexillum propositio sit, haec sequenda venit—nihil scitur.' The reasoning by which he establishes his position—the obvious absurdities of many received opinions, the imperfections of the senses, and the faulty inferences which men are in the habit of making from them—is, in parts, so like some of the destructive aphorisms in the First Book of the Novum Organum, that the resemblance can hardly have been accidental. But Sanchez constructs nothing. He concludes in favour of the sceptical formula with which he starts. His work is an extreme expression of the dislike and distrust which men were beginning to feel for a dogmatism which had passed current as science. That the contemptuous reference in the Essay was intended to include Montaigne is likely enough. His rambling tentative style, and his mischievous delight in multiplying proofs of the weakness and fallibility of human judgment, would explain Bacon's inclusion of him among the discoursing modern wits. It deserves notice, too, that although Bacon often follows Montaigne, this is the only Essay in which he refers to him by name.

P. 6, l. 4. *a natural* &c.] Conf. Montaigne: 'Je trouve que nous ne sommes pas seulement lasches à nous deffendre de la piperie; mais que nous cherchons et convions à nous y enferrer: nous aimons à nous embrouiller en la vanité, comme conforme à nostre estre.' Essays, bk. iii. chap. xi.

l. 5. *One of the later schools of the Grecians*] The reference is to Lucian's Philopseudes, sec. 1: *Ἔχεις μοι, ὦ Φιλόκλεις, εἰπεῖν τί ποτε ἄρα τοῦτό ἐστιν ὃ τοὺς πολλοὺς εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ ψεύδεσθαι προάγεται, ὡς αὐτούς τε χαίρειν μηδὲν ὑγιὲς λέγοντας καὶ τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα διεξιοῦσι μάλιστα προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν;* Πολλά, *ὦ Τυχιάδη, ἐστὶν ἃ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐνίους ἀναγκάζει τὰ ψευδῆ λέγειν ἐς τὸ χρήσιμον ἀποβλέποντας.*

Οὐδὲν πρὸς ἔπος ταῦτα . . . . . . Ἀλλὰ *περὶ ἐκείνων, ὦ ἄριστε, φημὶ οἳ ἄνευ τῆς χρείας τὸ ψεῦδος περὶ πολλοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας τίθενται ἡδόμενοι τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἐνδιατρίβοντες ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ προφάσει ἀναγκαίᾳ. Τούτους οὖν ἐθέλω εἰδέναι τίνος ἀγαθοῦ τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν.*

l. 15. *carbuncle*] 'Carbunculus. Solaris lapis lucet ex propria natura sicut Sol.' Paracelsus, vol. ii. p. 125 b (ed. of 1658, Geneva, in three folio vols.). 'The best of these stones will shine in darknesse like a burning coale, as Albertus writeth, himself hath seene. Others shine

but a little and are lesse esteemed, but such as shine not at all are scarce of any reckoning.' Bullokar, English Expositor, sub voce.

l. 22. *One of the fathers* &c.] This quotation has not been traced. The only explanation I can find of it is as follows:—Jerome, in a letter to Damasus (Ep. 146), writes, 'Daemonum cibus est carmina poetarum.' Augustine, Confess. i. 16, terms poetry 'vinum erroris ab ebriis doctoribus propinatum.' Bacon thus seems to have been quoting from memory, and to have combined the two passages. It was a fixed idea with him, as his mistakes of memory usually were. He says, e.g. in the Adv. of Learning, 'Did not one of the fathers in great indignation call Poesy "vinum daemonum," because it increaseth temptations, perturbations and vain opinions?' Works, iii. 440.

l. 24. *the shadow of a lie*] In this and in the next sentence Bacon seems to have had before him some passages from Plato's Republic: *Οὐκ οἶσθα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὅτι τό γε ὡς ἀληθῶς ψεῦδος, εἰ οἷόν τε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, πάντες θεοί τε καὶ ἄνθρωποι μισοῦσιν; . . . . ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὅτι τῇ ψυχῇ περὶ τὰ ὄντα ψεύδεσθαί τε καὶ ἐψεῦσθαι καὶ ἀμαθῆ εἶναι καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔχειν τε καὶ κεκτῆσθαι τὸ ψεῦδος πάντες ἥκιστ' ἂν δέξαιντο καὶ μισοῦσι μάλιστα αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ. Πολύ γε, ἔφη. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὀρθότατά γ' ἄν, ὃ νῦν δὴ ἔλεγον, τοῦτο ὡς ἀληθῶς ψεῦδος καλοῖτο, ἡ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἄγνοια ἡ τοῦ ἐψευσμένου. ἐπεὶ τό γε ἐν τοῖς λόγοις μίμημά τι τοῦ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἐστὶ παθήματος καὶ ὕστερον γεγονὸς εἴδωλον, οὐ πάνυ ἄκρατον ψεῦδος.* Republic, p. 382.

Conf. also, *Πόρρω ἄρα που τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἡ μιμητικὴ ἐστι, καὶ, ὡς ἔοικε, διὰ τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεργάζεται, ὅτι σμικρόν τι ἑκάστου ἐφάπτεται, καὶ τοῦτο εἴδωλον,* p. 598, and the entire discussion which introduces and follows this.

P. 7, ll. 4, 5. *knowledge of truth—belief of truth*] The Latin brings out more clearly the distinction intended here. Knowledge is rendered by 'veritatis cognitio, quae praesentem eam sistit:' belief by 'veritatis receptio cum assensu, quae est ipsius fruitio et amplexus.'

l. 8. *the light of the sense*] Genesis i. 3.

l. 8. *the light of reason*] Genesis i. 26, 27.

Conf. 'Thou, O Father! who gavest the Visible Light as the first-born of thy creatures, and didst pour into man the Intellectual Light as the top and consummation of thy workmanship, be pleased to protect and govern this work.' The Writer's Prayer; Works, vii. 259.

Closely resembling this is the prayer with which Bacon ends his 'distributio operis:'—'Itaque tu Pater, qui lucem visibilem primitias creaturae dedisti, et lucem intellectualem ad fastigium operum tuorum in faciem hominis inspirasti,' &c. Works, i. 145.

l. 13. *The poet*] i. e. Lucretius.

l. 13. *the sect otherwise inferior*] i. e. the Epicurean sect, so judged either as morally inferior or as having a less eminent series of literary advocates and professors.

The passage, which Bacon has paraphrased rather than translated, is,—

'Suave, mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis,
E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem;
Non quia vexari quemquam est jucunda voluptas,
Sed, quibus ipse malis careas, quia cernere suave est.
Suave etiam belli certamina magna tueri
Per campos instructa, tua sine parte pericli:
Sed nil dulcius est bene quam munita tenere
Edita doctrina sapientum templa serena;
Despicere unde queas alios, passimque videre
Errare, atque viam palanteis quaerere vitae,
Certare ingenio, contendere nobilitate,
Nocteis atque dies niti praestante labore
Ad summas emergere opes, rerumque potiri.'

Lib. ii. 1–13.

l. 22. *with pity* &c.] Conf. the description, in the New Atlantis, of one of the Fathers of Salomon's House: 'He was a man of middle stature and age, comely of person, and had an aspect as if he pitied men.' Works, iii. 154. I quote this as a further bye-instance of the relation in which Bacon himself stood, or affected to stand, towards his fellow-men.

P. 8, l. 8. *and therefore Montaigne saith* &c.] Montaigne does not say it; he quotes it as the saying of an ancient:—'J'ay souvent consideré d'où pouvoit naistre cette coustume, que nous observons si religieusement, de nous sentir plus aigrement offensez du reproche de ce vice, qui nous est si ordinaire, que de nul aultre; et que ce soit l'extreme injure qu'on nous puisse faire de parole, que de nous reprocher le mensonge . . . . . C'est un vilain vice que le mentir, et qu'un ancien peinct bien honteusement quand il dict que "c'est donner tesmoignage de mespriser Dieu, et quand et quand de craindre les hommes"; il n'est pas possible d'en representer plus richement l'horreur, la vilité, et le desreglement; car que peut-on imaginer plus vilain que d'estre couard à l'endroict des hommes, et brave à l'endroict de Dieu?' Montaigne, Essays, lib. ii. 18.

The 'ancien' is Plutarch. 'He that deceiveth his enemie, and breaketh his oath to him: sheweth plainely that he feareth him, but that he careth not for God.' Life of Lysander, North's trans. p. 450.

We learn from Bodin that the sensitiveness to the charge of lying, of which Montaigne speaks, had been of recent growth among the French:—'But now, when as to have the lie given one was neither by the Romans thought to be a thing injurious, neither that our auncestors had allowed the combat for the lie given to another man: it began in our age to be a thing not only contumelious, but even capitall also: and that especially in the time of Francis the first the French king,

who in a great assembly of his greatest peers one day said, that he was not an honest man which could endure the lie given him..... So that none of the nobilitie or martiall men which will put up with the lie is accounted of as a man of any worth or valour, but as of a base or vile fellow.' Bodin, Republic, iv. cap. 7, Knolles' trans.

Bacon speaks elsewhere to much the same effect:—'It would have been thought a madness amongst the ancient lawgivers to have set a punishment upon the lie given..... The civilians, they dispute whether an action of *injury* lie for it, and rather resolve the contrary. And Francis the first of France, who first set on and stamped this disgrace so deep, is taxed by the judgment of all wise writers for beginning the vanity of it: for it was he, that when he had himself given the lie and defy to the Emperor, to make it current in the world, said in a solemn assembly, *That he was no honest man that would bear the lie;* which was the fountain of this new learning.' Charge touching Duels, Letters and Life, iv. 406.

l. 17. *it being foretold* &c.] Luke xviii. 8. The words, it need hardly be said, do not bear the sense which Bacon has given them. I think it probable that he had in his mind, here, an indistinct recollection of a passage in Cyprian's De Unitate Ecclesiae. It is clear from several passages in Essay iii. that he had read this treatise. Conf. 'Sic in nobis emarcuit vigor fidei, sic credentium robur elanguit. Et idcirco Dominus tempora nostra respiciens, in Evangelio suo dicit: *Filius hominis cum venerit, putas inveniet fidem in terra?* Videmus fieri quod ille praedixit. In Dei timore, in lege justitiae, in dilectione, in opere fides nulla est,' &c. Cyprian, De Unitate Ecclesiae, sec. 26.

II.

OF DEATH.

MEN fear death as children fear to go in the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of sin, and passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations there is

sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read, in some of the friars' books of mortification, that a man should think with himself what the pain is if he have but his finger's end pressed or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of death are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb; for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense. And by him that spake only as a philosopher, and natural man[a], it was well said, *Pompa mortis magis terret quam mors ipsa.* Groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks and obsequies[b], and the like, show death terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates[c] and masters the fear of death; and therefore death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him[d]. Revenge triumphs over death; love slights it; honour aspireth to it; grief flieth to it; fear pre-occupateth[e] it; nay, we read, after Otho the emperor had slain himself,

[a] *natural man*] i. e. not from a religious point of view. Lat. *homo animalis.* In contrast to the religious meditations of which Bacon has just before been speaking. For the phrase, conf. 'It is true, Eupolis, that the principal object which I have before mine eyes, in that whereof I speak, is piety and religion. But nevertheless, if I should speak only as *a natural man*, I should persuade the same thing. For there is no such enterprise at this day for secular greatness and terrene honour as a war upon infidels.' Works, vii. p. 20.

[b] *blacks and obsequies*] The Latin combines these two words in *atrata funera.* For the old substantival use of 'blacks,' conf.

'Ere blacks were bought for his own funeral.'

Ben Jonson, Epigrams 44, l. 3.

And, 'The Queen's funeral is like to be deferred for want of money to buy the blacks.' Lorkin to Sir T. Puckering, April 17, 1619, Court and Times of James I, vol. ii.

[c] *but it mates*] i. e. over-powers, Lat. *quin superet.* Conf. 'The great question is how to miss or how to mate the Flemings: how to pass by them or how to pass over them.' Letters and Life, vi. 73. And, Essay 15: 'In great oppressions, the same things that do provoke the patience, do withal mate the courage.'

[d] *of him*] i. e. of death. Lat. *qui in certamine illam vincant.*

[e] *pre-occupateth*] i. e. anticipates. Lat. *anticipat.* Conf. 'Only I wish your Lordship will not pre-occupate despair, but put trust, next to God, in her Majesty's grace.' Letters and Life, ii. p. 200. And, 'I will pre-occupate

pity (which is the tenderest[f] of affections) provoked many to die out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of followers. Nay, Seneca adds, niceness[g] and satiety: *Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.* A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good spirits[h] the approaches of death make: for they appear to be the same men till the last instant. Augustus Caesar died in a compliment; *Livia, conjugii nostri memor, vive et vale.* Tiberius in dissimulation, as Tacitus saith of him, *Jam Tiberium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant:* Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the stool, *Ut puto Deus fio:* Galba with a sentence, *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani*, holding forth his neck; Septimius Severus in dispatch, *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum;* and the like. Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better saith he, *qui finem vitae extremum inter munera ponat naturae.* It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit is like one that is wounded in hot blood, who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good doth avert the dolours of death; but, above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is *Nunc dimittis*, when a man hath obtained worthy ends and

what he will rather say, That other affairs of weight do take him up.' Hacket's Life of Abp. Williams, Part I, p. 34.

[f] *the tenderest*] i. e. the weakest. Conf. 'Especially if in those disputings, they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it audaciously.' Essay 15.

[g] *niceness*] i. e. fastidiousness. Conf. 'The Spartans were a nice people in point of naturalization.' Essay 29, p. 207.

[h] *in good spirits*] Lat. *in animo generoso et forti.*

expectations. Death hath this also, that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy: *Extinctus amabitur idem.*

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 12, l. 1. *the dark*] 'Illa ad quae transituri sumus nescimus qualia sint, et horremus ignota. Naturalis praeterea tenebrarum metus est, in quas adductura mors creditur.' Seneca, Epist. lxxxii.

l. 2. *increased with tales*] Conf. 'Mors contemni debet magis quam solet. multa enim de illa credimus: multorum ingeniis certatum est ad augendam ejus infamiam. Descriptus est carcer infernus et perpetua nocte oppressa regio, in qua ingens janitor Orci,

> Ossa super recubans antro semesa cruento,
> Aeternùm latrans exsangues territat umbras.'

Seneca, Epist. lxxxii.

I give this, out of a host of similar passages, as having most probably been present to Bacon's mind.

l. 5. *the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature*] The Latin gives here *ut est naturae debitum*, as though the sense of the English were—since it is a tribute due unto nature. In the edition of 1612, the corresponding passage is—'the fear of it for it self.' This agrees more nearly with the English text of the later edition than with the rendering in the Latin.

For the sense, conf. 'Mors naturae lex est, mors tributum officiumque mortalium.' Seneca, Nat. Quaest. lib. vi. sub finem.

P. 13, l. 1. *You shall read* &c.] I have looked through some scores of the friars' books of mortification, but I have not found any such passage as that to which Bacon refers. The nearest approach to it is in St. Luis of Granada's chapter on Death, translated in vol. ii. of the Ascetic Library by Orby Shipley. The usual purpose of this class of writers seems to be to excite fear not about death but about what may happen after death, and on this latter they enlarge not unfrequently in terms such as those of which Bacon speaks in the text. By the early Christian writers death itself is more often hailed as a welcome release. Later writers, addressing themselves to the rich and the luxurious, insist rather on the losses which it involves and on the pleasures which it cuts short.

l. 10. *Pompa mortis* &c.] The reference appears to be to Seneca. 'Tolle istam pompam sub qua lates et stultos territas: mors es quam nuper servus meus quam ancilla contempsit.' Epist. xxiv. For this and for the next sentence conf. also Montaigne, Ess. lib. i. chap. 19: 'Je crois, à la verité, que ce sont ces mines et appareils

effroyables dequoy nous l'entournons, qui nous font plus de peur qu'elle: une toute nouvelle forme de vivre; les cris des meres, des femmes, et des enfants: la visitation de personnes estonnees et transies; l'assistance d'un nombre de valets pasles et esplorez; une chambre sans jour; des cierges allumez; nostre chevet assiegé de medecins et de prescheurs; somme, tout horreur et tout effroy autour de nous; nous voyla desja ensepvelis et enterrez. Les enfants ont peur de leurs amis mesmes, quand ils les voyent masquez: aussi avons nous. Il fault oster le masque aussi bien des choses que des personnes: osté qu'il sera, nous ne trouverons au dessoubs que cette mesme mort qu'un valet ou simple chambriere passerent dernierement sans peur.'

l. 18. *honour aspireth to it*] The edition of 1612 adds here—'delivery from ignominy chooseth it.' It is obvious to remark that, in the interval between the two editions, Bacon had incurred ignominy and had not chosen death. The reading of the earlier edition is kept and somewhat strengthened in the Latin translation of the later one—*metus ignominiae eligit.*

l. 19. *fear pre-occupateth it*] Conf. Seneca, Epist. xxiv: 'His adjicias et illud . . . . . tantam hominum imprudentiam esse, imo dementiam, ut quidam timore mortis cogantur ad mortem'; and Epist. lxx: 'stultitia est timore mortis mori'; and Lucretius iii. 79–82:

> 'Et saepe usque adeo, mortis formidine, vitae
> Percipit humanos odium lucisque videndae,
> Ut sibi consciscant maerenti pectore letum,
> Obliti fontem curarum hunc esse timorem.'

l. 20. *Otho*] Vide Tacitus, Hist. ii. 49: 'Quidam militum juxta rogam (Othonis) interfecere se, non noxa neque ob metum, sed aemulatione decoris et caritate principis. Ac postea promisce Bedriaci Placentiae aliisque in castris celebratum id genus mortis'; and Suetonius, Otho, cap. xii: sub finem: 'Multi praesentium militum . . . . . statim nec procul a rogo vim suae vitae adtulerunt. Multi et absentium adcepto nuntio prae dolore armis inter se ad internecionem concurrerunt.'

P. 14, l. 3. *Seneca adds*] These are not the words of Seneca. He quotes them, with approval, from an address, by *amicus noster Stoicus*, to a young man who had called a council of his friends to decide whether he should put himself to death. The exact words are—'Cogita quamdiu jam idem facias. Cibus, somnus, libido: per hunc circulum curritur. Mori velle non tantùm prudens, et fortis aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.' Epist. lxxvii.

l. 11. *Augustus Cæsar—compliment*] This is no account of the scene as Suetonius describes it—'Omnibus deinde dimissis, dum

advenientes ab urbe de Drusi filia aegra interrogat, repente in osculis Liviae et in hac voce defecit: Livia nostri conjugii memor vive, ac vale.' Augustus, cap. 99. There is something more than compliment here.

l. 12. *Tiberius*] 'Jam Tiberium corpus, jam vires, nondum dissimulatio deserebat.' Tac. Ann. vi. 50.

l. 14. *Vespasian*] 'Ac ne in metu quidem, et periculo mortis extremo, abstinuit jocis.... Prima quoque morbi adcessione, *Ut*, inquit, *puto, Deus fio.*' Suetonius, Vespasian, cap. 23. Ἐπειδή τε ἐπίστευσεν ὅτι τελευτήσει, ἔφη, Θεὸς ἤδη γίνομαι. Dio Cassius lxvi. 17. It does not appear that this jest was uttered when Vespasian was dying—Suetonius says expressly *prima morbi adcessione.*

l. 15. *Galba*] This is Plutarch's account. 'The traiterous souldiers flew upon him, and gave him many a wound: and Galba holding out his neck unto them, bad them strike hardily, if it were to do their country good.' North's trans. p. 1051. Tacitus and Suetonius speak less certainly. 'Extremam ejus vocem, ut cuique odium aut admiratio fuit, varie prodidere. Alii suppliciter interrogasse quid mali meruisset; paucos dies exsolvendo donativo deprecatum. Plures obtulisse ultro percussoribus jugulum: agerent ac ferirent, si ita e re publica videretur. Non interfuit occidentium quid diceret.' Tac. Hist. i. 41. 'Sunt qui tradant ad primum tumultum proclamasse eum, *Quid agitis, commilitones? ego vester sum, et vos mei.* Plures autem prodiderunt obtulisse ultro jugulum: et *ut hoc agerent ac ferirent, quando ita videretur*, hortatum.' Suet. Galba, cap. 20.

l. 16. *Septimius Severus*] Τό τε σύμπαν οὕτως ἐνεργὸς ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἀποψύχων ἀναφθέγξασθαι, Ἄγετε, δότε εἴ τι πρᾶξαι ἔχομεν. Dio Cass. lxxvi. 17. The same might have been said with equal truth about Vespasian; of whom Dio Cassius records: τῶν δὲ ἰατρῶν ἐπιτιμώντων αὐτῷ ὅτι τῇ τε ἄλλῃ διαίτῃ ὁμοίᾳ νοσῶν ἔχρητο, καὶ πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔπραττε, Τὸν αὐτοκράτορα δεῖ, ἔφη, ἑστῶτα ἀποθνήσκειν. Dio Cass. lxvi. 17.

l. 18. *the Stoics bestowed* &c.] This is certainly true about Seneca, who returns to the subject again and again with most minute and tedious iteration.

Conf. Montaigne—'À veoir les efforts que Seneque se donne pour se preparer contre la mort; à le veoir suer d'ahan pour se roider et pour s'asseurer, et se debattre si long temps en cette perche, j'eusse esbranslé sa reputation, s'il ne l'eust, en mourant, trez vaillamment maintenue.' Essays, bk. iii. chap. 12. And—'si nous avons sceu vivre constamment et tranquillement, nous sçaurons mourir de mesme. Ils s'en vanteront tant qu'il leur plaira, *tota philosophorum vita commentatio mortis est;* mais il m'est advis que c'est bien le bout, non pourtant le but, de la vie; c'est sa fin, son extremité, non pourtant son object.' Ibid. Bacon seems to have had this last passage from

Montaigne in his mind, and to have taken the quotation in it as further proof of the charge which he brings generally against the Stoics. There is a passage in the De Augmentis, not making any reference to the Stoics by name, but otherwise very like the Essay, and clearly founded upon the quotation in Montaigne.—'Mortis formidinem medendo augent. Etenim cum nihil aliud fere vitam humanam faciant quam mortis quandam praeparationem et disciplinam, quomodo fieri possit ut ille hostis mirum in modum non videatur terribilis, contra quem muniendi nullus sit finis?' Works i. 726. The proof is not happily chosen. The quotation is not from Seneca or from any Stoical writer, but from Cicero, Tusc. Disp. i. 30. It is intended to be a translation from the Phaedo, and its language, however doubtful in itself, does not, as the context shews, bear out the remarks which Montaigne makes upon it. *Commentatio mortis* is a preparation not for dying but for death, an anticipation and part-accomplishment of the change which will be complete at death —the final freedom of the soul from the restraints and degradations imposed upon it by the body.

Nor are the Stoics, as a rule, open to the charge which Bacon brings against them in the Essay. When they argue against the fear of death, their drift is the same as Seneca's, but they handle their subject in a more manly and robust style, more briefly and very much more effectively.

l. 20. *qui vitam* &c.] The correct words are—

> 'Qui spatium vitae extremum inter munera ponat
> Naturae.' Juv. Sat. x. 358.

l. 22. *to a little infant*] Conf. Quarles' Emblems, ii. 13:

> 'The slender debt to nature's quickly paid,
> Discharged, perhaps, with greater ease than made.'

l. 23. *He that dies* &c.] Conf. 'Celuy qui meurt en la meslee, les armes à la main, il n'estudie pas lors la mort, il ne la sent, ny ne la considere; l'ardeur du combat l'emporte.' Montaigne, Essays, bk. iii. chap. 4.

l. 28. *Nunc dimittis*] Luke ii. 29.

P. 15, l. 2. *Extinctus* &c.] Hor. Epist. bk. ii. 1. 14. So too Ovid, Amores, lib. i. xv. 39:

> 'Pascitur in vivis livor; post fata quiescit,
> Cum suus ex merito quemque tuetur honos.'

III.

OF UNITY IN RELIGION.

RELIGION being the chief band of human society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained[a] within the true band of unity. The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen consisted rather in rites and ceremonies, than in any constant belief: for you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets. But the true God hath this attribute, that he is a jealous God; and therefore his worship and religion will endure no mixture nor partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the unity of the church; what are the fruits thereof; what the bounds; and what the means.

The fruits of unity (next unto the well-pleasing of God, which is all in all) are two; the one towards those that are without the church, the other towards those that are within. For the former, it is certain that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest[b] scandals: yea, more than corruption of manners: for as in the natural body a wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt humour, so in the spiritual: so that nothing doth so much keep men out of the church, and drive men out of the church, as breach of unity: and therefore whensoever it

[a] *contained*] i.e. held together. Lat. *ut et ipsa astringatur.* Conf. 'I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions.' Essay 29, p. 208.

[b] *of all others the greatest*] i.e. greater than any of the others — a graecism not unfrequent in Bacon's time. Conf. e.g. 'I do now publish my Essays; which of all my other works have been most current.' Dedication to ed. of 1625.

'Of all other affections it is the most importune and continual.' Essay 9.

'In the midst of them all the sun taketh his course, as being the greatest and most puissant of all the rest.' Pliny, Nat. Hist. bk. ii. chap. 6 (Holland's trans.).

'For very few there be among them who understand and know the cause of this ceremony, which is of all other the smallest.' Plutarch, Morals, p. 1049 (Holland's trans.).

cometh to that pass that one saith, *Ecce in Deserto*, another saith, *Ecce in penetralibus;* that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of heretics, and others in an outward face of a church, that voice had need continually to sound in men's ears, *nolite exire*,—go not out. The doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety[c] of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those without) saith, If a heathen come in, and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad? and certainly it is little better when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions in religion. It doth avert them from the church, and maketh them to sit down in the chair of the scorners. It is but a light thing[d] to be vouched in so serious a matter, but yet it expresseth well the deformity. There is a master of scoffing that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library sets down this title of a book, The Morris-Dance of Heretics: for, indeed, every sect of them hath a diverse posture or cringe by themselves, which cannot but move derision in worldlings and depraved politics[e], who are apt to contemn holy things.

As for the fruit towards those that are within, it is peace, which containeth infinite blessings; it establisheth faith; it kindleth charity; the outward peace of the church distilleth into peace of conscience, and it turneth the labours of writing and reading of controversies into treaties[f] of mortification and devotion.

[c] *propriety*] i. e. *property* in the logical sense of the word; *specialty*. Lat. *cujus vocatio et missio propria et demandata*. Conf. 'Man did give names unto other creatures in Paradise, as they were brought before him, according unto their proprieties.' Works, iii. 264.

[d] *It is but a light thing* &c.] These words refer to the passage from Rabelais, which follows in the next sentence. For a parallel to this use, conf. e.g. 'It is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes,' &c. Essay 12, l. 1.

[e] *politics*] i. e. politicians. Lat. *politici*. The word occurs frequently.

[f] *treaties*] i. e. treatises. So, in the opening words of the third part of the Homily against disobedience and wilful

Concerning the bounds of unity, the true placing of them importeth exceedingly[g]. There appear to be two extremes: for to certain zealants[h] all speech of pacification is odious. Is it peace, Jehu?—What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me. Peace is not the matter, but following and party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans and lukewarm persons think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty[i] reconcilements, as if they would make an arbitrament between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided; which will be done if the league of Christians, penned by our Saviour himself, were in the two cross clauses thereof soundly and plainly expounded: He that is not with us, is against us; and again, He that is not against us, is with us; that is, if the points fundamental and of substance in religion were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely[k] of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention. This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done less partially[l], it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my

rebellion—'As I have in the first part of this treatise shewed unto you the doctrine of the holy Scriptures . . . . and in the second part of the same treaty confirmed the same doctrine by notable examples,' &c.

[g] *importeth exceedingly*] i.e. is of exceeding importance. Lat. *magni prorsus est momenti.* The verb is used in a neuter and in an active sense. Conf. 'Nay, number itself in armies importeth not much.' Essay 29.

'It is worthy the consideration how this may import England.' Works, vi. 78.

[h] *zealants*] i.e. zealots. Lat. *hominibus zelo perfervido.* It appears to be formed from the Italian *zelante.*

[i] *witty*] here = ingenious, as in Essay 50, 'Histories make men wise; poets, witty.' The Latin, in both passages, is *ingeniosus.*

[k] *not merely*] i.e. not absolutely, not entirely. The Latin gives simply *quae non sunt ex fide.* Conf. Essay 58, 'They do not merely dispeople and destroy': where the Latin gives *populum penitus non absorbent aut destruunt.*

[l] *less partially*] i.e. with less of party feeling and aim. Conf. 'The fourth and last occasion of these controversies . . . . is the partial affectation and imitation of foreign churches.' Letters and Life, i. p. 84. The apparent antithesis in the text between 'partially' and 'generally' obscures the sense of the English. The Latin is clear—*verum si hoc ipsum minore partium studio fieret, majore etiam consensu reciperetur.*

small model[m]. Men ought to take heed of rending God's church by two kinds of controversies; the one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction; for, as it is noted by one of the fathers, Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the church's vesture was of divers colours; whereupon he saith, *In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit;* they be two things, unity and uniformity. The other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree: and if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment which is between man and man, shall we not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not[n] discern that frail men, in some of théir contradictions, intend the same thing, and accepteth of both? The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul, in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same; *Devita profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiae.* Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new

[m] *model* &c.] These words probably mean—as far as the small scale of the present writing allows. So Dr. Rawley, stating his reason for publishing some of Bacon's minor writings, says that he did it 'to satisfy the desires of some who held it unreasonable that any delineations of that pen, though in never so small a model, should not be shewn to the world.' Works, vii. 6.

'That gigantic state of mind which possesseth the troublers of the world, such as was Lucius Sylla, and infinite other in smaller model.' Works, iii. 425.

The Latin version, however, renders the word by—*pro captûs nostri tenuitate*, a piece of modesty hardly in the strain of one who, at the age of 29, had already assumed authority to settle the controversies of the Church. Letters and Life, i. 74 *et seqq.*

[n] *doth not*] This repetition of the negative is not unusual with Bacon. Conf. e. g. 'A corporation can have no wife, nor a corporation can have no son.' Works, vii. 668.

'I have no enemies, nor I have nothing that anybody should long for.' Letters and Life, v. 215.

terms, so fixed as [o], whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false peaces, or unities: the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance [p], for all colours will agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points: for truth and falsehood, in such things, are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image; they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the means of procuring unity, men must beware that, in the procuring or muniting [q] of religious unity, they do not dissolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion: but we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it: that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences; except it be in cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice [r] against the state; much less to nourish seditions; to authorize conspiracies and rebellions; to put the sword into the people's hands, and the like, tending to the subversion of all government, which is the ordinance of God. For this is but to dash the first table

[o] *as*] Here, and elsewhere *passim* = that.

[p] *implicit ignorance*] Probably, an ignorance content to admit what is put before it without understanding what it means. The epithet is commonly applied not to ignorance but to faith. Bacon so uses it in a passage very like the text—'Reason teaches us that in ignorance and implied belief it is easy to agree, as colours agree in the dark.' Letters and Life, i. 165. It would seem, therefore, that he puts much the same meaning on implicit ignorance and implicit belief.

[q] *muniting*] i. e. fortifying. Lat. *dum muniant*. Conf. 'The more gross and tangible parts do contract and serre themselves together; both to avoid vacuum (as they call it) and also to munite themselves against the force of the fire which they have suffered.' Works, ii. 374.

[r] *of practice*] Lat. *machinationis*. The word, with Bacon, has usually a sinister sense. Conf. e. g. 'A man .... should rest upon the soundness and strength of his own courses, and not upon practice to circumvent others.' Letters and Life, i. 202.

against the second; and so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed:

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

What would he have said, if he had known of the massacre in France, or the powder treason of England? He would have been seven times more epicure[s] and atheist than he was. For as the temporal sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of religion, so it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the common people; let that be left unto the Anabaptists and other furies. It was great blasphemy, when the devil said, I will ascend and be like the Highest; but it is greater blasphemy to personate[t] God, and bring him in saying, I will descend, and be like the prince of darkness: and what is it better, to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murdering princes, butchery of people, and subversion of states and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven; and to set out of the bark of a Christian church a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins; therefore it is most necessary that the church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learnings, both Christian and moral, as by their Mercury rod, do damn and send to hell for ever those facts[u] and opinions tending to the support of the same; as hath been already in good part done. Surely, in councils concerning religion, that council of the apostle would be[x] prefixed, *Ira hominis non implet*

[s] *epicure*] i. e. epicurean. So *passim*. Conf. e. g. 'For the opinion of Socrates is much upheld by the general consent even of the Epicures themselves.' Works, iii. 426.

[t] *to personate*] i. e. to assign a character to; to give him a part to play. Vide Essay 27, p. 192, note on 'person.'

[u] *facts*] i. e. deeds. Lat. *facta*.

[x] *would be*] i. e. ought to be. A frequent use. Conf. e. g. 'The ex-

justitiam Dei: and it was a notable observation of a wise father, and no less ingenuously confessed, that those which held and persuaded pressure of consciences were commonly interessed[y] therein themselves for their own ends.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 19, l. 5. *religion of the heathen*] Conf. 'The religion of the heathen had no constant belief or confession, but left all to the liberty of argument.' Works, iii. 479. And 'The heathen religion was not only a worship of idols, but the whole religion was an idol in itself; for it had no soul, that is, no certainty of belief or confession; as a man may well think considering the chief doctors of their church were the poets; and the reason was because the heathen gods were no jealous gods, but were glad to be admitted into part, as they had reason.' Works, iii. 488. But all this is much too absolutely stated. It seems based on a reference to the religions of Greece and Rome. It is true of the Greeks that the 'chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets.' It is untrue of the Romans, who had their regular colleges to preside over the national faith and worship. Again, it is true of the Romans that they easily admitted foreign deities to divine rank among their own; it is untrue of the Greeks. With both peoples, there were quarrels and divisions about religion as soon as the accepted schemes of theology came to be called in question. If we look beyond Greece and Rome, the case is even more complete. Vide e.g. Juvenal, Sat. xv. 33 *et seqq.*, where we have an account of the furious quarrels caused by the diversities of creed among the Egyptians. And Dio Cassius: Οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι . . . θρησκεύουσί τε γὰρ πολλὰ περισσότατα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πολέμους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἅτε μὴ καθ' ἓν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντιωτάτου καὶ αὐτοῖς τιμῶντες τινὰ, ἀναιροῦνται. xlii. 34.

P. 20, l. 1. *Ecce in Deserto*, &c.] St. Matthew xxiv. 26.

l. 3. *an outward face of a church*] This is probably a reference to the Church of Rome. In one of the many passages closely resembling the text of the Essay, Bacon goes on to speak of there

cess of diet in costly meats and drinks fet from beyond the seas would be avoided.' Letters and Life, vi. 23.

'The voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly.' Essay 37.

[y] *interessed*] The old form of interested. Conf. e.g. 'The mystical communion of all faithful men is such as maketh every one to be interessed in those precious blessings which any one of them receiveth.' Hooker, Eccl. Pol. bk. v, chap. 40, sec. 3.

being 'no occasion for any pretended Catholic to judge us.' Letters and Life, i. 74. The *nolite exire* is used or adapted, elsewhere, as a scriptural injunction not to leave the Church of England,—'so ready are they to depart from the Church upon every voice,' p. 80. And this seems to be the sense which Bacon puts upon it here, in his exhortation against breach of unity.

l. 8. *If a heathen come*] 1 Cor. xiv. 23.

l. 13. *to sit down* &c.] Ps. i. 1.

l. 16. *catalogue of books*] *La morisque des hereticques* is the title of one of the books which Pantagruel finds in the library of St. Victor at Paris. Vide Pantagruel, ii. 7.

P. 21, l. 4. *Is it peace* &c.] 2 Kings ix. 18, 19.

l. 6. *Laodiceans*] Revelation iii. 14–16.

l. 12. *in the two cross clauses*] Lat. 'in clausulis illis quae primo intuitu inter se opponi videntur.' Vide St. Matthew xii. 30, St. Mark ix. 40. But the former text is incorrectly quoted. The words are 'He that is not with me is against me.' Bacon writes elsewhere to the same effect as in the Essay, and with the same error in the quotation. Conf. 'Interest admodum pacis Ecclesiae, ut foedus Christianorum, a Servatore praescriptum, in duobus illis capitulis quae nonnihil videntur discrepantia, bene et clare explicetur: quorum alterum sic diffinit; *Qui non est nobiscum est contra nos*; alterum autem sic: *Qui contra nos non est, nobiscum est*: Ex his liquido patet esse nonnullos articulos, in quibus qui dissentit extra Foedus statuendus sit; alios vero in quibus dissentire liceat, salvo Foedere. Vincula enim communionis Christianae ponuntur, Una Fides, Unum Baptisma, &c.; non Unus Ritus, Una Opinio.' Works, i. 833.

P. 22, l. 5. *by one of the fathers*] The words quoted are from Augustine, but in the passage where they occur there is nothing said about Christ's coat, frequent as the reference is to it in other passages. Nor do any of the references, here or elsewhere, bear the meaning which Bacon puts upon them. Vide Enarratio in Psal. xliv. (xlv. of our version) sec. 24, 'Vestitus reginae hujus quis est? et pretiosus est, et varius est: sacramenta doctrinae in linguis omnibus variis . . . Quomodo autem omnis varietas vestis in unitate concordat, sic et omnes linguae ad unam fidem. *In veste varietas sit; scissura non sit.* Ecce varietatem intelleximus de diversitate linguarum, et vestem intelleximus propter unitatem: in ipsa autem varietate aurum quod est? Ipsa sapientia . . . . . Varietas in linguis, aurum in sententiis.' Conf. also Enarratio ii. in Psal. xxi: 'Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea . . . et super vestimentum meum miserunt sortem. Erat ibi tunica, dicit evangelista, desuper texta. Ergo de caelo, ergo a patre, ergo a spiritu sancto. Quae est ista tunica nisi charitas quam nemo dividere potest? Quae est ista tunica nisi unitas?'

Also, in Joannis Evangelium, Tractatus 13: 'Erat ibi tunica: videamus qualis: desuper texta. Desuper texta tunica quid significat nisi charitatem? desuper texta tunica quid significat nisi unitatem? Hanc tunicam attende, quam nec persecutores Christi diviserunt.' And Tractatus 119: 'Tunica vero illa sortita omnium partium significat unitatem, quae charitatis vinculo continetur .... Inconsutilis autem, ne aliquando dissuatur: et ad unum pervenit, quia in unum omnes colligit.'

The subject is similarly treated in Sermo ccxviii. cap. 9 and in Sermo cclxv. De Ascensione Domini, cap. 6. In several passages of Bernard we find the same fanciful interpretation, but neither in Bernard nor in Augustine are there any excuses made for differences of opinion on the most minute points of doctrine or church polity. Bernard, e. g., rebuking the jealousies of monastic orders and their quarrels over the colours of their dresses, says, 'et hac ratione in tota Ecclesia (quae utique tam pluribus tamque dissimilibus variatur ordinibus, utpote Regina quae in Psalmo legitur *circumamicta varietatibus*) nulla pax, nulla prorsus concordia esse putabitur .... Non sum tam hebes ut non agnoscam tunicam Joseph, non illius qui liberavit Aegyptum, sed qui salvavit mundum .... Notissima quippe est quia polymita, id est pulcherrima varietate distincta .... Recognosce, omnipotens pater, eam quam fecisti Christo tuo polymitam, dando quosdam apostolos, quosdam autem prophetas, alios vero evangelistas,' &c., &c. And again: 'Audi quomodo polymitam: Divisiones, ait, gratiarum sunt, idem autem spiritus; et divisiones operationum sunt, idem vero Dominus. Deinde diversis enumeratis charismatibus, tanquam variis tunicae coloribus, quibus constet eam esse polymitam, ut ostendat etiam esse inconsutilem et desuper contextam per totum, adjungit. Haec autem operatur unus atque idem Spiritus, dividens singulis prout vult.' (Bernardi) Apologia ad Guillelmum, cap. iii. Conf. also Epistola 334, Contra Abaelardum. Conf. also 'Hoc unitatis sacramentum, hoc vinculum concordiae inseparabiliter cohaerentis ostenditur quando in Evangelio tunica Domini Jesu Christi non dividitur omnino nec scinditur .... Loquitur ac dicit Scriptura divina; *De tunica autem, quia de superiore parte non consutilis, sed per totum textilis fuerit, dixerunt ad invicem: Non scindamus illam, sed sortiamur de ea cujus sit.* .... Possidere non potest indumentum Christi qui scindit et dividit Ecclesiam Christi.' Cyprian, De Unitate Ecclesiae, sec vii.

The illustration is a favourite one with Bacon. Conf. e. g. 'In this point the rule holds which was pronounced by an ancient father, touching the diversity of rites in the Church: for finding the vesture of the queen (in the psalm) which did prefigure the Church, was of divers colours, and finding again that Christ's coat was without a seam, he concludeth well, *In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit.*'

Letters and Life, iii. 97. And again: "So we see the coat of our Saviour was entire without seam, and so is the doctrine of the Scriptures in itself; but the garment of the Church was of divers colours and yet not divided.' Works, iii. 482. And, 'for matter of division and breach of unity, it is not without a mystery that Christ's coat had no seam; nor no more should the Church if it were possible.' Letters and Life, iv. 268.

l. 22. *Devita* &c.] 1 Timothy vi. 20.

l. 23. *Men create* &c.] An illustration of this may, perhaps, be found in the controversy between the Eastern and Western Churches on the procession of the Holy Spirit. Those who understand these subjects say that there was no difference of doctrine here; the only difference was in the terms by which the same doctrine was expressed. Each Church, however, so interpreted the terms of the other as to make it appear that the difference between them was not verbal but real. The term thus in effect governed the meaning, and the breach of unity which followed was very largely due to this.

Or, we may, perhaps, find an illustration in the terms Catholic and Protestant. They express an opposition which is not, since Catholics act the part of protesters against what they deem heretical views: while Protestants claim to be true members of the universal Church of Christ. But here, too, the term governs the meaning, and the Church of Rome, by help of the name Catholic, asserts an exclusive claim to Catholicity, relegating all Protestant bodies to the merely negative position of protesters and nothing else.

P. 23, l. 8. *Nebuchadnezzar's image*] Daniel ii. 33 and 41.

l. 13. *There be two swords* &c.] Conf. Latimer's first sermon. 'In thys world God hath ii swerdes, the one is a temporal swerde, the other a spiritual. The temporal swerde resteth in the handes of kynges, maiestrates and rulers under hym. . . . The spiritual swerde is in the hands of the ministers and preachers.' Arber's Reprints, p. 23. The reference here and in the Essay is to Luke xxii. 38. 'They said, Lord, behold here are two swords. And He said unto them, It is enough.' This passage has been variously interpreted. Jerome, in Evangelium secundum Lucam, says briefly,

> 'emat gladium—id est Legem.
> duo gladii—id sunt duae Leges.'

So too Ambrose, Expositio in Lucam. 'Duos gladios discipuli protulerunt . . . unum novi, alterum veteris Testamenti . . . Denique dicit Dominus Satis est, quasi nihil desit ei quem utriusque Testamenti doctrina munierit.'

Augustine writes in the same sense, and in very truculent language. Vide Contra Faustum Manichaeum, lib. xvi. 25. Bernard,

writing to Pope Eugenius, pressing for help to the Eastern Church after loss in taking of Edessa, comes more near to the interpretation which afterwards prevailed. 'Intraverunt aquae usque ad animam Christi: tacta est pupilla oculi ejus. Exserendus est nunc uterque gladius in passione Domini. . . . Per quem autem nisi per vos? Petri uterque est, alter suo nutu, alter sua manu, quoties necesse est evaginandus. Et quidem de quo minus videbatur, de ipso ad Petrum dictum est—Converte gladium tuum in vaginam. Ergo suus erat et ille sed non sua manu utique educendus.' Epistola, 256. Conf. also De consideratione, lib. iv. cap. 3, and the address 'Ad milites Templi.—Exseratur gladius uterque fidelium in cervices inimicorum.' Cap. 3.

The claim of the Church to the temporal sword becomes presently more distinct. John of Salisbury (Polycraticus, lib. iv. cap. 3) writes: 'Hunc ergo gladium de manu ecclesiae accipit princeps, cum ipsa tamen gladium sanguinis omnino non habet. Habet tamen et istum, sed eo utitur per principis manum,' &c.

In the next century, Gregory IX, writing to Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, on the supremacy of the Roman See, says: 'Illud tantum adjicimus quod utrumque gladium ad Romanum pertinere Pontificem ex evangelica lectione tenemus. Etenim loquente Jesu discipulis de acquisitione gladii spiritualis, illi duos ibi positos ostenderunt, quos Dominus dixit sufficere, ad coercionem videlicet spiritualis et corporalis offensae. Si materialem gladium pertinere concedis ad potentiam temporalem, attende quid in Matthaei evangelio Dominus dicat Petro—Converte gladium tuum in locum suum— dicendo *tuum*, materialem signavit gladium quo percusserat ille servum principis sacerdotum . . . Uterque igitur gladius Ecclesiae traditur, sed ab Ecclesia exercendus est unus, alius pro Ecclesia manu saecularis principis eximendus: unus a sacerdote, alius ad nutum sacerdotis administrandus a milite.' Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici, in annum 1233.

Boniface VIII in his Bull 'Unam Sanctam' perpetuates the claim of the Church and bases it on the passage in St. Luke: 'In hac ejusque (sc. Petri) potestate duos esse gladios, spiritualem videlicet et temporalem, evangelicis dictis instruimur. Nam dicentibus Apostolis: ecce gladii duo hic: in ecclesia scilicet cum Apostoli loquerentur, non respondet dominus nimis esse sed satis . . . Uterque ergo in potestate Ecclesiae, spiritualis scilicet gladius et materialis: sed is quidem pro ecclesia, ille vero ab ecclesia exercendus: ille sacerdotis, is manu regum et militum, sed ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis: oportet enim gladium esse sub gladio,' &c., &c. Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici, in annum 1302.

The above is the *locus classicus*. It is curious and not uninstructive to contrast it with Jerome's earlier view, and with Latimer's

at a later date. But Latimer was living in a reformed country and under a Tudor prince.

l. 15. *but we may not take*] Bacon does not always use this language. In his Remembrance to Sir John Digby about the negociations for the Spanish Match, he instructs him to suggest 'that it may be a beginning and seed (for the like actions before have had less beginnings) of a holy war against the Turk, whereunto it seems the events of time doth invite Christian kings,' &c., &c. Letters and Life, vi. 158. This is to take up the third sword and turn it against its proper owner,—an even larger licence than that which the text of the Essay condemns. On the prohibition in the text conf. 'Nunc illa est (quaestio) si uno religionis obtentu bellum inferri potest. Et hoc nego, et addo rationem: quia religionis jus hominibus cum hominibus proprie non est: itaque neque jus laeditur hominum ob diversam religionem: itaque nec bellum causa religionis. Religio erga Deum est ... Nihil igitur quaeritat homo violatum sibi ob aliam religionem.' Albericus Gentilis, De Jure Belli, lib. i. cap. 9, *An bellum justum sit pro religione.*

l. 18. *sanguinary*] Whately calls attention to this qualifying epithet, as marking the imperfect views of Bacon on religious toleration. It seems, too, from the next clause, that 'in cases of overt scandal and blasphemy,' even sanguinary persecutions are allowable. The rule thus enlarged is quite broad enough to cover the Inquisition itself.

P. 24, l. 5. *Tantum religio* &c.] Bk. i. 102.

l. 12. *Anabaptists.*] The refusal of these sectaries to recognise the authority of the civil ruler, and their assertion of the equality of all men under an assumed Divine illumination, explain and bear out Bacon's reference to them in the text. That he had especially in his mind the authors of the great Anabaptist outbreak at Munster (1534) appears from the edition of 1612, where he speaks of them as 'the madmen of Munster.'

Conf. also, 'The Anabaptists ..... profess the pulling down of magistrates, and the monarchy of them that are inspired; and they can chaunt the Psalm *To bind their kings in chains and their nobles in fetters of iron.*' Letters and Life, v. 166.

l. 13. *It was great blasphemy, when the devil said* &c.] The reference is to Isaiah xiv. 12–14:

'How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning: how art thou cut down to the ground which didst trouble the nations.

For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the throne of God: I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north.

I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the most High.'

This passage, suitably interpreted and enlarged, has been used to fill out the details of the otherwise untold story of the offence and fall of the rebel angels who kept not their first estate.

Bacon in several places makes more or less distinct reference to it. Conf. Essay 13: 'The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall.' Also in De Augmentis, lib. vii. cap. 3: 'Angeli, dum ad potentiam divinae parem aspirarent, praevaricati sunt et ceciderunt.' Works, i. 742. And in the Valerius Terminus, cap. 1: 'The angel of light that was, when he presumed before his fall, said within himself, I will ascend and be like unto the Highest: not God, but the highest. To be like to God in goodness was no part of his emulation: knowledge, being in creation an angel of light, was not the want which did most solicit him: only because he was a minister he aimed at a supremacy: therefore his climbing or ascension was turned into a throwing down or a precipitation.' Works, iii. 217.

Bacon had probably before his mind some passages of Thomas Aquinas: 'Diabolus peccavit appetendo similitudinem Dei quantum ad potentiam.' Sum. Theol. Secunda Secundae, Quaest. 163. Artic. II. Also in Pars Prima, Quaest. 63, Artic. III, we find a direct reference to the passage in Isaiah, with the remark added 'Appetiit finalem beatitudinem per suam virtutem habere, quod est proprium Dei,' afterwards expanded and made more precise by the words 'appetiit aliquem principatum super alia habere, in quo etiam perversè voluit Deo assimilari.'

The words in Isaiah are put into the mouth not of the devil, but of the King of Babylon (vid. v. 4). But it was an early patristic view that the devil is the speaker, and that the entire passage is parabolic.

Origen, Comment. in Joannem, tom. i. § 13, clearly thus interprets it: *Ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμάζουσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς ἐσομένην διὰ Ἰησοῦν εἰρήνην, τοῦ πολεμικοῦ χωρίου, εἰς ὃ ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁ Ἑωσφόρος ὁ πρωὶ ἀνατέλλων ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ συντρίβεται.* The words here—*ὁ Ἑωσφόρος ὁ πρωὶ ἀνατέλλων*—stand in the LXX, in verse 12, where the English version gives 'Lucifer, son of the morning.'

Again, in Jerome's translation of Origen, Homil. I in Ezechielem, sec. 3 (of which the Greek original is lost) we find: 'Vide consonantiam prophetici evangelicique sermonis. Prophetes dicit; cecidit de caelo Lucifer qui mane oriebatur, contritus est super terram. Jesus loquitur, Videbam Satanam quasi fulgur de caelo cadentem. In quo differt dicere fulgur aut Luciferum de caelo cadentem?' Jerome, in his own commentary—in Isaiam Prophetam, lib. vi.—takes the same view and defends it at great length.

Ambrose writes no less distinctly: 'Ipse diabolus per superbiam naturae suae amisit gratiam. Denique dum dicit—Ponam thronum meum super nubes . . . . . et ero similis altissimo (Esai. xiv. 13

et 14), consortiis excidit angelorum.' In Psalmum 118, Expositio v. 51.

Conf. also Augustine, Enarratio in Psalmum 88. v. 12: 'Quid ergo timeo Aquilonem, quid timeo maria? Est quidem in Aquilone diabolus, qui dixit Ponam sedem meam in Aquilonem, et ero similis altissimo' (Isai. xiv. 13, 14).

Boniface VIII in a letter to the recalcitrant Gallican clergy compares them, morally and geographically, to Lucifer: 'In vanum laborant . . . . . disponentes ab Aquilone sedem erigere contra vicarium Jesu Christi. Sed . . . . . ut primus Lucifer . . . . . cum sequacibus suis cecidit, corruet, quantacunque fulciatur potentia, et secundus.' Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici in ann. 1302.

The legendary story of the fall of Lucifer was popularized from a very early date. We find it in the Anglo-Saxon poems attributed to Cædmon:

'Aught else they sought not
To rear in heaven
Save right and truth,
Ere that the angel's guardian
For pride
Sank into error . . . . .
Then spake he the words
From malice thirsty
That he in the north part
A home and lofty seat
Of heaven's kingdom
Would possess.'

Metrical Paraphrase, l. 40, &c., as translated by Benjamin Thorpe.

The story occurs frequently in the Miracle Plays of the Middle Ages. In, e. g., the Chester Plays, a collection of Mysteries founded upon Scripture subjects (supposed date about 1400), the first play is on the 'Fall of Lucifer.' He is represented in God's absence as taking his seat on God's throne.

'Aha! that I am wondrous bright
Among you all shynning full cleare:
Of all heaven I bear the light
That am repleat with heavenly grace;
Though God come I will not hence
But sitte right heare before his face.'

He is found sitting there on God's return and is at once flung down to Hell, together with his confederate Light-borne.

In the Coventry Mysteries, the offence and fall of Lucifer form part of the first play. The passage is too long to quote.

So prominent is the part assigned to Lucifer by the legend that in

the 'Advent of Antichrist' we find Lucifer named as chief in the infernal hierarchy, distinguished from Sathanas and seemingly taking rank above him.

l. 23. *assassins*] The word seems to be used here in its ordinary sense, without special reference to the half-historical, half-mythical assassins or Ismaelians of Persia, from whom, as Bacon says elsewhere, 'the name of the assassins, which is now familiar in the civil law, was derived.' Letters and Life, v. 166.

l. 26. *Mercury rod*] Conf.

> 'Tum virgam capit: hac animas ille evocat Orco
> Pallentis, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit,
> Dat somnos adimitque, et lumina morte resignat.'
>
> Virg. Aen. iv. 242–4.

and Homer, Od. xxiv. 1–5.

l. 30. *would be*] i. e. should or ought to be. So *passim*. Conf., e. g., 'the voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly, a base and a tenor no treble.' Essay 37.

l. 30. *Ira hominis*] James i. 20.

P. 25, l. 1. *a notable observation* &c.] Marcus Antonius de Dominis in his *de Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*, lib. vii. cap. 8, under the heading *In suadendâ aut conservandâ fide Catholicâ vim externam non esse adhibendam*, has collected from all quarters such authorities as he could find in support of his thesis. Bacon's reference may perhaps be to one of these, viz. an extract from Sulpicius Severus, Hist. Sac. lib. ii. cap. 50: 'Secuti etiam accusatores Idacius et Ithacius episcopi: quorum studium in expugnandis haereticis non reprehenderem, si non studio vincendi plus quam oportuit certassent.' Or it may perhaps be to a passage in one of Cyprian's letters: 'Fictitia vasa confringere Domino soli concessum est, cui et virga ferrea data est. Esse non potest major domino suo servus; nec quisquam sibi quod soli filio pater tribuit vindicare potest, ut putet aut, ad aream ventilandam et purgandam, palam ferre posse, aut a frumento universa zizania humano judicio separare. Superba est ista obstinatio et sacrilega praesumptio quam sibi furor pravus assumit; et dum dominium sibi semper quidam plusquam mitis justitia deposcit assumunt, de Ecclesia pereunt.' Cyprian, Epist. 41.

IV.

OF REVENGE.

REVENGE is a kind of wild justice[a], which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out: for as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the law, but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office[b]. Certainly, in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over, he is superior; for it is a prince's part to pardon: and Salomon, I am sure, saith[c], *It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence.* That which is past is gone and irrevocable, and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves that labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake, but thereby to purchase[d] himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like; therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? And if any man should do wrong, merely out of ill-nature, [e] why? yet it is but like the thorn or briar, which prick and scratch because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law to remedy; but then, let a man take heed the revenge be such as there is no law to punish, else a man's enemy is still beforehand[f],

[a] *wild justice*] i.e. uncultivated; a mere weed, and as such to be weeded out. Lat. *agrestis quaedam justitia.* But clearly as the Essay pronounces against this *wild justice*, this *agrestis justitia*, we find it noted in the *Antitheta* among the arguments in favour of revenge. Works, i. 703. There is more said on the same side in the *Antitheta*, of which there is nothing in the Essay.

[b] *putteth the law out of office*] Lat. *legem auctoritate sua plane spoliat.*

[c] *Salomon, I am sure, saith*] Lat. *Equidem memini dixisse Salomonem.* But the English conveys what the Latin does not—a sort of notice to the reader that the quotation is to stand unverified.

[d] *to purchase*] i.e. to obtain. Lat. *ut sibi conciliet.* Conf. 'If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before . . . . he shall purchase more honour.' Essay 55.

[e] The Latin follows this punctuation, but omits the 'yet' as out of place after the interrogative—*quid tum? etiam spina et rubus pungunt* etc.

[f] *is still beforehand*] i.e. the enemy has had the concluding blow struck on his side, and the man who has taken

and it is two for one. Some, when they take revenge, are desirous the party should know whence it cometh: this is the more generous; for the delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent: but base and crafty cowards are like the arrow that flieth in the dark. Cosmus, Duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable. *You shall read*, saith he, *that we are commanded to forgive our enemies; but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends.* But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune: *Shall we*, saith he, *take good at God's hands, and not be content to take evil also?* and so of friends in a proportion [g]. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green [h], which otherwise would heal and do well. Public revenges are for the most part fortunate [i]; as that for the death of Caesar; for the death of Pertinax; for the death of Henry the Third of France; and many more. But in private revenges it is not so; nay, rather vindicative persons live the life of witches, who, as they are mischievous, so end they infortunate.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 34, l. 7. *Salomon, I am sure, saith*] 'The discretion of a man deferreth his anger, and it is his glory to pass over a transgression.' Prov. xix. 11.

P. 35, l. 2. *whence it cometh*] Conf. Διὸ ὀρθῶς πεποίηται 'Φάσθαι Ὀδυσσῆα πτολιπόρθιον,' ὡς οὐ τετιμωρημένος εἰ μὴ ᾔσθετο καὶ ὑφ' οὗ καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου· Aristotle, Rhet. II, cap. 3, sec. 16.

revenge has suffered a two-fold loss—that namely which his enemy first inflicted, and that which the law inflicts as a punishment for his illegal act of revenge. He is thus patient twice and agent once only.

[g] *in a proportion*] in proportion, that is, to the very different relation in which a friend stands to a friend, as compared with that of a creature to its creator.

[h] *green*] i. e. fresh, then fresh-like, unhealed. Conf. 'Their wounds being yet green and uncured which they got by the wars of Phocide.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 852.

[i] *fortunate*] Lat. *prospere cedunt.*

l. 6. *Cosmus, Duke of Florence*] Vide note on Essay 42. The saying in the text has not been traced.

l. 11. *spirit of Job*] Job ii. 10.

l. 15. *Public revenges*] It is not easy to see the drift of this comparison. Public revenges, as contrasted with private revenges, are revenges undertaken, not from vindictive motives nor in return for personal injuries, but to inflict punishment for public wrongs, for injuries done to the community. That these are for the most part fortunate hardly needs to be proved. Society could not exist without them. But the sense of the text seems further narrowed by the three instances which follow, and which illustrate the kind of injury, the punishment for which is here termed a public revenge. In each case it is the murder of a public chief the revenge for which is said to have been fortunate. The facts are as follows. The death of Caesar was revenged by Antony and Augustus, and the revenge may be termed fortunate, i. e. either successful in fact, or fortunate for the agents or for the state. The final consolidation of the imperial power under Augustus will perhaps bear this out for the state, certainly for one of the agents. The death of Pertinax was avenged by Septimius Severus, and this again had an issue fortunate for himself, not so clearly fortunate for the state. The death of Henry the Third of France was avenged by his murderer being put to death on the spot, but Henry IV had nothing to do with this and his accession was in no sense dependent upon it. The Latin gives the death of Henry IV instead of that of Henry III, even less appositely. The torture of the wretched Ravaillac and the accession of Louis XIII can hardly be twisted into instances of a fortunate revenge.

l. 21. *so end they infortunate*] The judicial records of the middle ages supply abundant evidence of this. Conf. e. g. 'S'il advient que la Sorciere invoque ou appelle le diable, il faut proceder sans doute à condemnation de mort .... et non seulement de mort, ains il faut condamner tels monstres à estre bruslez tous vifs, suyvant la coustume generale observee de toute ancienneté en toute la Chrestienté; de la quelle coustume et loy generale le Juge ne se doit departer ne déroger à icelle ny diminuer la peine, s'il n'y a grande et urgente raison.' Bodin, La demonomanie des Sorciers, lib. iv. cap. 5, *des peines que meritent les Sorciers.*

Popular indignation did not always wait for process of law. Bodin, e. g., tells of a sorcerer named Pumber who could kill three men a day by looking at them with firm purpose. 'En fin les paysans du village le demembrerent en pièces, sans forme ne figure de procés.' Bk. ii. cap. 8.

V.

OF ADVERSITY.

It was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics) that, *the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired. Bona rerum secundarum optabilia; adversarum mirabilia.* Certainly[a], if miracles be the command over nature, they appear most in adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the other, (much too high for a heathen) *It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man, and the security*[b] *of a God. Verè magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.* This would have done better in poesy, where transcendencies are more allowed; and the poets, indeed, have been busy with it; for it is, in effect, the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery[c]; nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian, that *Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus* by whom human nature is represented, *sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher*, lively[d] describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh through the waves of the world. But to speak in a mean[e]. The virtue of prosperity

[a] *Certainly*, &c.] i.e. Adversity gives most occasion for the exercise of a self-command, in restraint of natural impulse, so great that Bacon terms it miraculous. Conf. Essay 58: 'For martyrdoms, I reckon them among miracles, because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature.'

[b] *security*] i. e. sense of safety, absence of care. Conf. 'Security is an ill guard for a kingdom.' Letters and Life, vi. 20.

The old contrast, now lost, between security and safety is well brought out in Ben Jonson's The Forest, XI Epode, last line:

'Man may securely sin, but safely never.'

[c] *mystery*] i. e. secret meaning or intention. Conf. 'But touching the mystery of re-annexing of the duchy of Brittaine to the crown of France ... the ambassadors bare aloof from it as from a rock.' Works, vi. 66.

[d] *lively*] i. e. livelily. Lat. *ad vivum.*

[e] *But to speak in a mean*] i. e. in moderate language. Lat. *Verum ut a granditate verborum ad mediocritatem descendamus.*

is temperance; the virtue of adversity is fortitude; which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament; adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols[f]; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Salomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes[g]; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needleworks and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn[h] ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground: judge, therefore, of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed[i], or crushed: for prosperity doth best discover[k] vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 37, l. 1. *high speech*] Seneca's words are—'Ita dico, in aequo est moderate gaudere et moderate dolere: Laetitia illa non vincit animi

[f] *carols*] i. e. verses in a lively or joyous strain. Lat. *exultationes.*

[g] *distastes*] i. e. annoyances. Lat. *molestiae.* Conf. 'That we make application of our knowledge to give ourselves repose and contentment, and not distaste or repining.' Works, iii. 266.

'I that knew well ... what occasion I had given her both of distaste and distrust in crossing her disposition.' Letters and Life, iii. 153.

[h] *sad and solemn*] These two words mean much the same, and are expressed by the same word in the Latin, *coloris magis opaci.* Conf. 'Take the opinion of some grave and eminent divines; especially such as are *sad* and discreet men and exemplary for their lives.' Letters and Life, vi. 17.

'Certaine gentlemen of the privie chamber [of Henry VIII.] were removed for their lewdnesse, and then four sad and ancient knights put into their places.' Stowe's Annals, by Howes, p. 508. (Quoted in Warton's Observations on the Fairy Queen).

[i] *incensed*] i. e. set on fire. A Latinism. Lat. *incensa.* Conf. 'The good, if any be, is due *tanquam adeps sacrificii,* to be incensed to the honour, first of the Divine Majesty, and next of your Majesty.' Works, iii. 491.

[k] *discover*] i. e. make manifest. Lat. *indicat.* Conf. 'The vale best discovereth the hill.' Essay 48.

firmitatem, sub tortore gemitus devorantem. Illa bona optabilia sunt, haec mirabilia.' Epist. lxvi.

l. 9. *Verè magnum*] The exact words are—'Ecce, res magna, habere imbecillitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.' Epist. 53, *sub finem.*

l. 16. *Hercules*] There are several references in classical writers to this story about Hercules, but none of them speak of his voyage in an earthen pot or pitcher.

The earliest version is from Athenaeus:

Πείσανδρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἡρακλείας, τὸ δέπας ἐν ᾧ διέπλευσεν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τὸν ὠκεανόν, εἶναι μέν φησιν ἡλίου, λαβεῖν δ' αὐτὸ παρ' Ὠκεανοῦ Ἡρακλέα . . . . . Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἥλιος ἐπὶ ποτηρίου διεκομίζετο ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν, Στησίχορος μὲν οὕτως φησίν . . . . καὶ Ἀντίμαχος . . . . καὶ Αἰσχύλος . . . . . . These speak of the cup as of gold. *Θεόλυτος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὡρων ἐπὶ λέβητός φησιν αὐτὸν διαπλεῦσαι.* Athenaeus xi. 38.

The explanation there suggested is that Hercules was a hard drinker. Macrobius believes that Scyphus was the name of the ship in which he sailed. 'Scyphus Herculis poculum est, ita ut Liberi patris cantharus . . . Antiqua historia est Herculem poculo tanquam navigio (ventis) immensa maria transisse . . . . . ego tamen arbitror non poculo Herculem maria transvectum, sed navigio cui scypho nomen fuit.' Macrobii Saturnal. v. 21.

Apollodorus mentions the voyage in a golden cup in his account of the tenth labour of Hercules—that of bringing the oxen of Geryones from the island of Erythia, in the outer ocean. After traversing Europe and Libya he comes to Tartessus—*Καὶ παρελθὼν Ταρτησσὸν ἔστησε σημεῖα τῆς πορείας ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης, ἀντιστοίχους δύο στήλας. Θερμαινόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡλίου κατὰ τὴν πορείαν, τὸ τόξον ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐνέτεινεν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐτοῦ θαυμάσας, χρύσεον ἔδωκε δέπας, ἐν ᾧ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν διεπέρασε.* Hercules slays the custodians; then *ἐνθέμενος τὰς βόας εἰς τὸ δέπας, καὶ διαπλεύσας εἰς Ταρτησσὸν, Ἡλίῳ πάλιν ἀπέδωκε τὸ δέπας.* Apollodorus, Biblioth. ii. 5. 10.

The later voyage in which Prometheus was unbound is recorded in the next section: *Καὶ διὰ τῆς Λιβύης πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν, καταπλεῖ· οὗ τὸ δέπας καταλαμβάνει. καὶ περαιωθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἤπειρον τὴν ἀντικρὺ, κατετόξευσεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου τὸν ἐσθίοντα τὸ τοῦ Προμηθέως ἦπαρ αἰετὸν, . . . καὶ τὸν Προμηθέα διέλυσε.*

Heyne in his notes on these two passages has collected other variations of the legend, but in none of them is there any mention of Bacon's earthen pot or pitcher. We find the legend referred to in the De Sapientiâ Veterum, cap. xxvi, and a different interpretation of it finally and somewhat hesitatingly given: 'Haec sunt illa, quae in fabulâ istâ vulgari et decantatâ nobis adumbrari videntur: neque tamen inficiamur illi subesse haud pauca quae ad Christianae fidei mysteria miro consensu innuant; ante omnia navigatio illa Herculis in urceo ad liberandum Prometheum, imaginem Dei Verbi, in carne tanquam fragili vasculo ad redemptionem generis humani properantis,

prae se ferre videtur. Verum nos omnem in hoc genere licentiam nobis ipsi interdicimus, ne forte igni extraneo ad altare Domini utamur.' Works, vi. 676.

P. 38, l. 17. *crushed*] Conf. Apophthegms New and Old. 'Mr. Bettenham said: that virtuous men were like some herbs and spices, that give not their sweet smell till they be broken and crushed.' Works, vii. 160.

VI.

OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION.

DISSIMULATION is but a faint kind of policy, or wisdom; for it asketh[a] a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it: therefore it is the weaker sort of politics[b] that are the great dissemblers.

Tacitus saith, *Livia sorted well*[c] *with the arts of her husband, and dissimulation of her son;* attributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius: and again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith, *We rise not against the piercing judgment of Augustus, nor the extreme caution or*

[a] *asketh*] i. e. requireth. Lat. *ingenium acre et robur animi constans ad hoc requiritur* &c.

[b] *politics*] i. e. politicians, so *passim*.

[c] *sorted well*] This is Bacon's translation of Tacitus' 'bene composita,' a difficult phrase which Gronovius interprets as = 'et marito et filio *unice respondens, conveniens*, digna visa, et quasi a fatis lecta, quae utrumque, quantum erat salubre, temperaret.'

Sorted well may therefore here mean *agreed well*, a sense in which we find the word used elsewhere by Bacon. Conf. 'A friend may speak as the case requires and not as it sorteth with the person.' Essay 27, *sub finem*. And, 'For men ought to consider how their nature sorteth with professions and courses of life, and accordingly to make election.' Works, iii. 461.

The word *to sort* has also other meanings in Bacon. In Essay 7, p. 49, 'to sort with mean company,' is to consort, to associate. Conf. also 'the unable person . . . is sorted with such work as he can manage and perform.' Letters and Life, iv. 252. In the same Essay and in Essay 27, we find 'sorteth to discord,' 'sorteth to inconvenience,' i. e. turneth. Conf. 'Had it not been that the Count of Bossu was slack in charging the Spaniards upon their retreat, this fight had sorted to an absolute defeat.' Letters and Life, vii. 483.

closeness of Tiberius. These properties of arts or policy, and dissimulation or closeness, are indeed habits and faculties several[d], and to be distinguished; for if a man have that penetration of judgment as he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secretted[e], and what to be showed at half-lights, and to whom and when (which indeed are arts of state, and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them), to him a habit of dissimulation is a hinderance and a poorness. But if a man cannot obtain to[f] that judgment, then it is left to him generally to be close, and a dissembler: for where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general, like the going softly[g] by one that cannot well see. Certainly, the ablest men that ever were, have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity: but then they were like horses well managed[h], for they could tell passing well

[d] *several*] i. e. separate, distinct. Conf. 'arming them in several places and under several commanders.' Lat. *in locis diversis et sub diversis ducibus.* Essay 19. And, 'And every kynde of thing is laid up severall, in bernes or store-houses.' More, Utopia, p. 90. (Arber's Reprint of Robinson's trans.)

[e] *secretted*] From the obsolete verb *to secret*, i. e. to keep secret. Conf. 'There is great care to be used for the councillors themselves to be well chosen, so there is of the clerks of the council for the secreting their consultations.' Letters and Life, vi. 41. And, 'Let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs come not from themselves.' Essay 20.

[f] *cannot obtain to*] i. e. cannot attain to. Lat. *si quis ascendere non valeat.* Conf. 'In the degrees of human honour among the heathen, it was the highest to obtain to a veneration and adoration as a God.' Works, iii. 301.

[g] *going softly*] i.e. slowly. Lat. *lente.* Conf.

'Soft!
The Jew shall have all justice; soft! no haste.'
Merchant of Venice, act iv. sc. 1.

[h] *well managed*] Lat. *bene docti et domiti.* But this does not give the full sense. To manage was a technical term in use in Bacon's day, and to know 'when to stop or turn' was the sign of a well-managed horse. Conf. 'You shall then teach (your horse) to manage, which is the only posture for the use of the sword on horseback . . . First, cause some bystander to prick up in the earth two riding rods, about twenty yards, or lesse as you think good, distant one from the other; then walk your horse in a straight turn or ring about the first on your right hand; and so passing him in an even furrow downe to the other rod, walk about it also in a narrow ring on your left hand: then thrust him into a gentle

when to stop or turn; and at such times when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it it came to pass that the former opinion, spread abroad, of their good faith and clearness of dealing, made them almost invisible.

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self: the first, closeness, reservation, and secrecy; when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is: the second, dissimulation in the negative; when a man lets fall signs and arguments that he is not that he is: and the third, simulation in the affirmative; when a man industriously[i] and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, secrecy, it is indeed the virtue of a confessor; and assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions; for who will open himself to a blab or a babbler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery[k]; as the more close air sucketh in the more open; and, as in confession the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart, so secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind[l]; while men rather[m] discharge their minds than impart their minds. In few words[n], mysteries are due to secrecy. Besides (to

gallop down the even furrow till you come to the first rod, and there making him as it were stop and advance without any pause or intermission of time, thrust him forward again and beat the turn Terra, Terra (which is the most open of all straight turns) about it on your right hand, and then gallop forth right to the other rod, and in the same manner beat the turn about it on your left hand.' Gervase Markham, Country Contentments, bk. i. p. 57 (ed. of 1615).

[i] *industriously*] i. e. purposely. Lat. *ex industria.* Conf. 'And for that purpose must use to dissemble those abilities which are notorious in him, to give colour that his true wants are but industries and dissimulations.' Works, iii. 464.

[k] *it inviteth discovery*] Lat. *facile aliorum animos reserabit.*

[l] *in that kind*] i. e. in much the same way as the confessor does. Lat. *simili de causa.*

[m] *while men rather* &c.] The Latin is clearer: *dum homines, non tam impertire, quam exonerare animum cupiant.*

[n] *In few words* &c.] This dark saying, taken as a summing up of what goes before, and interpreted with the help of the Latin, seems to mean that the man who can hold his tongue has

say truth), nakedness is uncomely, as well in mind as body; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions if they be not altogether open. As for talkers and futile [o] persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal: for he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not. Therefore set it down, that a habit of secrecy is both politic and moral: and in this part it is good that a man's face [p] give his tongue leave to speak; for the discovery of a man's self by the tracts [q] of his countenance is a great weakness and betraying, by how much [r] it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is dissimulation. It followeth many times upon secrecy by a necessity; so that he that

a sort of admitted claim to have other persons' secrets disclosed to him. Lat. *mysteria silentibus debentur.*

[o] *futile*] Latin *futiles*, i. e. literally, easily pouring out. Here, probably, incontinent of speech. Given to chattering. Conf. 'One futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many that know it their duty to conceal.' Essay 20.

A passage in L'Estrange's Fables of Æsop and Others, points clearly to this sense of the word. 'This fable' (in which a woman worms a secret from her husband under promise of strict secresy which she very signally fails to keep) 'does not strike so much at the futility of women in general as at the incontinent levity of a prying inquisitive humour.' Reflexion on Fable ccccxxvii.

[p] *that a man's face*] i. e. that a man do not so reveal himself by the tracts of his countenance as either to anticipate what he is about to say, or to give the lie to his spoken words. The Latin *ut vultus suus linguae officium non praeripiat* is an imperfect rendering of the text.

[q] *tracts*] i. e. movements: a latinism from *tractus*. In a corresponding passage in the Adv. of Learning, Bacon speaks of 'the motions of the countenance.' Works, iii. 368.

[r] *by how much*] The exact sense of this elliptical phrase may be gathered from e. g. a passage in Hooker where it is given at full length: 'All duties are by so much the better performed, by how much the men are more religious from whose abilities the same proceed.' Eccl. Pol. bk. v. ch. 1, sec. 2. Bacon's meaning therefore is that the degree in which the discovery of a man's self, by the tracts of his countenance, is a weakness is shown *inter alia* by the fact that it is often more believed than his words. The phrase occurs elsewhere in Bacon. Conf. 'By how much the more men ought to beware of this passion.' Essay 10. And, 'They commit the whole; by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity.' Essay 20. And 'The knowledge of ourselves: which deserveth the more accurate handling, by how much it toucheth us more nearly.' Works, iii. 366.

will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree; for men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage[s] between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that without an absurd silence, he must show an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long: so that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation, which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is simulation and false profession, that I hold more culpable, and less politic, except it be in great and rare matters: and, therefore, a general custom of simulation (which is this last degree) is a vice rising either of a natural falseness or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults; which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of ure[t].

The great advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three: first, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise; for where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarum[u] to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat; for if a man engage

[s] *to keep an indifferent carriage*] i. e. to maintain an impartial bearing. Lat. *in aequilibrio se continere.* For indifferent in this sense conf. e. g. 'In choice of committees for ripening business for the council, it is better to choose indifferent persons (Lat. *eos eligere qui aequi sunt et in neutram partem propendeant*) than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides.' Essay 20.

For carriage, conf. 'The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation.' Essay 51.

[t] *out of ure*] i. e. out of practice. Lat. *ne forte habitus ipse intercidat.* Conf. 'But generally I see it neither put in ure nor put in inquisition.' Works, iii. 404. And, 'As may appear by other kinds of benevolence, presented to her likewise in Parliament, which her Majesty nevertheless hath not put in ure.' Letters and Life, i. 177. The word is frequently used by Bacon.

[u] *an alarum*] Lit. a call to arms. Lat. *veluti tuba.* Conf. 'Whose swords be kept sheathed, so ready to be drawn upon every alarum.' Hacket, Life of Abp. Williams, Part i. p. 226.

himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through, or take a fall[v]. The third is, the better to discover the mind of another; for to him that opens himself men will hardly show themselves adverse; but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought; and therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, *Tell a lie and find a truth;* as if there were no way of discovery but by simulation. There be also three disadvantages to set it even. The first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a show of fearfulness, which in any business doth spoil[w] the feathers of round flying up to the mark. The second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits[x] of many, that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends. The third and greatest is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature[y] is, to have openness in fame and opinion[z]; secrecy in habit; dissimulation in seasonable use; and a power to feign if there be no remedy.

[v] *take a fall*] i. e. suffer a defeat. The Latin gives, more fully, *aut pergendum est ei, aut turpiter desistendum.* For 'take' in the above sense conf. 'A mate of fortune she never took.' Letters and Life, i. 140.

[w] *doth spoil* &c.] The sense of this phrase is given clearly in the Latin—*plumas vellit ne perniciter ad metam advolent.* The construction of the English is more doubtful. The words probably mean — doth spoil (or deprive) the feathers (i. e. the feathered arrow) of the power of flying direct to the mark.

For this sense of round, conf. 'Clear and round dealing is the honour of man's nature.' Essay 1, and note.

[x] *the conceits*] i. e. thoughts. Lat. *cogitationes.* Conf. 'I may without prejudice preserve thus much of the conceit of antiquity.' Works, iii. 353 (and *passim*).

[y] *temperature*] i. e. temperament. Lat. *temperamentum.* Conf. 'As touching the manners of learned men, it is a thing personal and individual: and no doubt there be amongst them, as in other professions, of all temperatures.' Works, iii. 277. And, 'Neither hath learning an influence and operation only upon civil merit and moral virtue, and the arts or temperature of peace and peaceable government.' Ibid. p. 307.

[z] *to have openness in fame and opinion*] i. e. to be credited with being frank and outspoken. Lat. *si quis veracitatis famam obtineat.*

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 40, l. 1. *Dissimulation* &c.] Conf. 'So tedious, casual and unfortunate are these deep dissimulations: whereof it seemeth Tacitus made this judgment, that they were a cunning of an inferior form in regard of true policy: attributing the one to Augustus, the other to Tiberius, where speaking of Livia he saith, *et cum artibus mariti, simulatione filii, bene composita*; for surely the continual habit of dissimulation is but a weak and sluggish cunning, and not greatly politic.' Works, iii. 468.

l. 5. *Tacitus saith*] Annals v. 1. The words of Tacitus are given in the note above.

l. 7. *and again, when Mucianus*] 'Non adversus divi Augusti acerrimam mentem, nec adversus cautissimam Tiberii senectutem . . . consurgimus.' Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

P. 41, l. 7. *arts of state and arts of life*] Mr. Aldis Wright offers choice here between two passages of Tacitus, neither of them very close to the text, but, if taken together, perhaps near enough to serve. 'Capito insignitior infamia fuit, quod, humani divinique juris sciens, egregium publicum et bonas domi artes dehonestavisset.' Annals iii. 70.

The offence of Capito had been that he had made a false show of remonstrating with Tiberius for encroaching on the province of the senate by pardoning an offence against himself, and this Capito obsequiously pretended to consider as a public crime. The other passage, from the Agricola, cap. xxxix, speaks of 'studia fori et civilium artium decus.'

P. 42, l. 4. *of their good faith*] So Guicciardini, speaking of the vast promises on the faith of which Julius the second obtained the Papacy, remarks that he well knew 'che niuno più facilmente inganna gli altri, che chi è solito et ha fama di mai non gl'ingannare.' Storia d'Italia, bk. vi. p. 181 in the London edition of 1821.

l. 14. *For the first of these* &c.] The rules and cautions in the text are substantially the same as those given in the Advancement of Learning. Works, iii. 460.

l. 18. *as the more close air* &c.] That is to say, as the hot rarified air inside a room gives passage to the colder and more dense air which enters from outside.

P. 43, l. 8. *that a man's face* &c.] Conf. 'The lineaments of the body do disclose the disposition and inclination of the mind in general; but the Motions of the countenance and parts do not only so, but do further disclose the present humour and state of the mind and will. For as your Majesty saith most aptly and elegantly, *As the tongue speaketh to the ear, so the gesture speaketh to the eye.* And therefore a number of subtile persons, whose eyes do dwell upon the faces

and fashions of men, do well know the advantage of this observation, as being most part of their ability; neither can it be denied but that it is a great discovery of dissimulations, and a great direction in business.' Works, iii. 368. And 'The poet saith—

Nec vultu destrue verba tuo:

a man may destroy the force of his words with his countenance.' Ibid. p. 446. The poet is Ovid, Artes Amat. lib. ii. 312. And, 'It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with whom you speak with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept; for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances.' Essay 22.

l. 9. *the discovery of a man's self*] This was notoriously so with the Earl of Essex, whom Bacon probably had in mind. Conf. 'How ill the Earl (of Essex) was read in this court philosophy, his servant Cuffe discerned well when he said, *Amorem et odium semper in fronte gessit, nec celare novit.*' A View of the Parallel between Earl of Essex and Duke of Buckingham; Lansdowne MS. 213.

l. 11. *more marked and believed*] Conf. 'We will begin therefore with this precept . . . that more trust be given to countenances and deeds than to words. Neither lèt that be feared which is said, *fronti nulla fides*, which is meant of a general outward behaviour and not of the private and subtile motions and labours of the countenance and gesture, which as Q. Cicero elegantly saith is *animi janua*.' Works, iii. 457.

P. 44, l. 6. *he must show an inclination one way* &c.] But vidè, per contra, King James, Basilicon Doron, bk. i: 'If anything be asked at you that yee thinke not meete to reveale, if yee say—that question is not pertinent for them to aske, who dare examine you further? and using sometimes this answer both in true and false things that shall be asked at you, such unmanerly people will never be the wiser thereof.' James' rule however is fitter for a King or Prince than for a private man who might not so easily rid himself of unmannerly questioners. The Basilicon Doron was written for Prince Henry.

P. 45, l. 7. *Tell a lie* &c.] This good shrewd proverb (Lat. *satis malignum adagium*) is given in the Advancement of Learning in Spanish. 'Experience sheweth, there are few men so true to themselves and so settled, but that sometimes . . . they open themselves; specially if they be put to it with a counter-dissimulation, according to the proverb of Spain, Di mentira, y sacaras verdad, Tell a lie and find a truth.' Works, iii. 459.

VII.

OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

THE joys of parents are secret, and so are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter; they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation is common to beasts; but memory[a], merit, and noble works, are proper to men: and surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men, which have sought to express the images of their minds where those of their bodies have failed; so the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their houses are most indulgent towards their children, beholding them as the continuance, not only of their kind but of their work[b], and so both children[c] and creatures.

The difference[d] in affection of parents towards their several children is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy, especially in the mother; as Salomon saith, *A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son shames the mother.* A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected, and the

[a] *memory*] i.e. the being held in memory. Lat. *aeternitas memoriae.*

[b] *work*] i. e. as serving to perpetuate the family which the 'first raiser' has founded. The Latin *rerum a se gestarum haeredes* gives a somewhat different turn to the words.

[c] *children*] 'children' here clearly corresponds to 'kind,' i. e. species: 'creatures,' i. e. created objects, to 'work.' Conf. for word—'these Thy creatures of bread and wine'—in the consecration prayer of the Communion Service.

[d] *The difference* etc.] This is very obscurely worded. The sense seems to be that the father and mother do many times not agree in the differences of regard which they have for their several children, the father preferring one child while the mother prefers another. Affection, it must be noted, does not imply love. It is regard of any sort, kind or unkind.

youngest made wantons[e]; but in the midst some that are as it were forgotten, who, many times, nevertheless, prove the best. The illiberality of parents in allowance towards their children is an harmful error, makes them base, acquaints them with shifts[f], makes them sort with[g] mean company, and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty: and therefore the proof[h] is best when men keep their authority towards their children, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both parents, and schoolmasters, and servants), in creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth to discord[i] when they are men, and disturbeth families. The Italians make little difference between children and nephews or near kinsfolk; but so they be of the lump[k] they care not, though they pass not through their own body; and, to say truth, in nature, it is much a like matter; insomuch that we see a nephew sometimes resembleth an uncle or a kinsman more than his own parent, as the blood happens. Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses they mean their children should take, for then they are most flexible, and let them not too much apply themselves[l] to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true that, if the affection or aptness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but generally the precept is good, *Optimum elige, suave*

[e] *made wantons*] i. e. spoilt. Lat. *in deliciis esse.*

[f] *acquaints them with shifts*] Lat. *reddit fallaciis deditos.*

[g] *sort with*] i. e. associate with. Vide note on word in Essay 6.

[h] *the proof is best*] i. e. the result on trial is best. Lat. *optime succedit.* So in Adv. of Learning, 'Fathers have most comfort of the good proof of their sons.' Works, iii. 451.

[i] *sorteth to discord*] i. e. turns to discord. Lat. *in discordias evadunt.* Vide note on word in Essay 6.

[k] *of the lump*] Lat. *modo sint e massa sanguinis.* Fr. (Gorges) *pourveu qu'ils sont sortis du mesme tronc.*

[l] *apply themselves to* &c.] i.e. observe closely and allow themselves to be guided by. Conf. 'No sooner he became a new man, apply himself as he ought to the government, but I also change my temper.' Strafford, Report on Ireland, quoted in Traill's Strafford, p. 141. Conf. also note on word in Essay 52.

et facile illud faciet consuetudo. Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 48, l. 6. *perpetuity by generation* &c.] So in Bacon's Discourse in the Praise of his Sovereign. 'Let them leave children that leave no other memory in their times: Brutorum aeternitas soboles.' Letters and Life, i. 140.

Conf. also, *Ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ τοιαύτης δόξης εὐκλεοῦς πάντες πάντα ποιοῦσιν . . . . . τοῦ γὰρ ἀθανάτου ἐρῶσιν. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐγκύμονες, ἔφη, κατὰ σώματα ὄντες πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας μᾶλλον τρέπονται καὶ ταύτῃ ἐρωτικοί εἰσι, διὰ παιδογονίας ἀθανασίαν καὶ μνήμην καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν, ὡς οἴονται, αὑτοῖς εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον πάντα ποριζόμενοι· οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν . . . . ἃ ψυχῇ προσήκει καὶ κυῆσαι καὶ κυεῖν.* Plato, Sympos. 208 d.

l. 8. *noblest works and foundations* &c.] Conf. 'There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable.' Essay 10, *sub finem.*

So also, 'Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men, which both in affection and means have married and endowed the public.' Essay 8.

l. 18. *unequal and sometimes unworthy*] Can Bacon have been thinking of his own case here? Mr. Spedding speaks of him as his father's 'favourite son.' Letters and Life, i. p. 6. Lady Bacon writes that he was 'his father's first choice,' p. 246. It is clear, too, that, at an early period in his career, his mother had formed and held a very bad opinion of him. pp. 244–45.

l. 19. *as Salomon saith*] Solomon's saying — Prov. x. 1 — is expanded and its application shewn, somewhat fancifully, in the Advancement of Learning. '*Filius sapiens laetificat patrem: filius vero stultus maestitia est matri suae.* Here is distinguished, that fathers have most comfort of the good proof of their sons; but mothers have most discomfort of their ill proof, because women have little discerning of virtue, but of fortune.' Works, iii. 451.

In the corresponding passage in the De Augmentis Scientiarum the explanation is brought more close to the passage in the Essay. 'Distinguuntur solatia atque aegritudines oeconomicae, patris videlicet et matris, circa liberos suos. Etenim filius prudens et frugi praecipuo solatio est patri, qui virtutis pretium melius novit quam mater: . . . . . E contra, mater calamitati filii plus compatitur et

indolet; tum ob affectum maternum magis mollem et tenerum, tum fortasse indulgentiae suae conscia, qua eum corruperit et depravaverit.' Works, i. 754.

P. 49, l. 26. *the precept*] Conf. 'Verily the precept of the Pythagoreans serveth to right good stead in this case (viz. of exile) to be practised. Choose, say they, the best life: use and custom will make it pleasant enough unto thee.' Plutarch, Morals, p. 225.

VIII.

OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune; for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men, which both in affection and means have married and endowed the public. Yet it were great reason that those that have children should have greatest care of future times, unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are who, though they lead a single life, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinences[a]. Nay, there are some other that account wife and children but as bills of charges. Nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous men that take a pride in having no children, because[b] they may be thought so much the richer; for,

[a] *impertinences*] i.e. that with which they have no concern. Lat. *nihil ad se pertinentia.* Conf. for word—'It is an excellent observation which hath been made upon the answers of our Saviour Christ to many of the questions which were propounded to him, how that they are impertinent to the state of the question demanded.' Works, iii. 486.

[b] *because*] i.e. in order that. Lat. *ut habeantur tanto ditiores.* For this use of 'because,' conf. 'It is the care of some only to come off speedily for the time, or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seem men of dispatch.' Essay 25.

'Let it not touch the water, because it may not putrify.' Works, iii. 818.

perhaps they have heard some talk, *Such an one is a great rich man*, and another except to it, *Yea, but he hath a great charge of children;* as if it were an abatement to his riches. But the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous[c] minds, which are so sensible of every restraint as they will go near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants; but not always best subjects, for they are light to run away[d], and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life doth well with churchmen, for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool. It is indifferent for judges and magistrates; for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a servant five times worse than a wife. For soldiers, I find the generals commonly, in their hortatives, put men in mind of their wives and children; and I think the despising of marriage amongst the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier more base. Certainly, wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity; and single men, though they be many times more charitable because their means are less exhaust[e], yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hard-hearted (good to make severe inquisitors), because their

[c] *humorous*] i.e. full of fancies or conceits. Lat. *phantasticis.* Ital. *bizarri.* Fr. *qui sont trop addonnés à complaire à leurs propres humeurs.* Conf. 'It utterly betrayeth all utility for men to embark themselves too far in unfortunate friendships, troublesome spleens, and childish and humourous envies or emulations.' Works, iii. 471.

COR. 'He makes congies to his wife in geometrical proportions.

MIT. Is't possible there should be any such humourist?'

Ben Jonson, Every Man out of his Humour, act ii. sc. 1.

This sense of humour and humorous is preserved in *The Spectator.* Vide Papers 616 and 617.

[d] *light to run away*] Lat. *ad fugam expediti.* But the sense may perhaps be, simply,—apt or ready to run away,—with no added notion of unencumbered. Conf. Essay 51, note, on 'lightly'= usually: and Shakespeare's 'false of heart, light of ear,' i.e. ready to give ear to any tale. King Lear, act iii. sc. 4.

[e] *exhaust*] i.e. exhausted. This omission of the participial ending is not unfrequent with Bacon. Conf. e.g. Essay 20, 'elaborate'=elaborated, and Essay 11, 'observe wherein and how they have degenerate'; and Essay 51, 'they hold it a little suspect in Popes.'

tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands; as was said of Ulysses, *Vetulam suam praetulit immortalitati.* Chaste women are often proud and froward, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds, both of chastity and obedience, in the wife, if she think her husband wise, which she will never do if she find him jealous. Wives are young men's mistresses[f], companions for middle age, and old men's nurses; so as a man may have a quarrel[g] to marry when he will. But yet he was reputed one of the wise men that made answer to the question when a man should marry? *A young man not yet, an elder man not at all.* It is often seen that bad husbands have very good wives; whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husbands' kindness when it comes, or that the wives take a pride in their patience; but this never fails if the bad husbands were of their own choosing, against their friends' consent, for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 51, l. 2. *for they are*] The argument is not obvious. That a wife and children are impediments to great enterprises is no proof that

[f] *mistresses*] The French (Gorges), *maitresses*, has here the ambiguity of the English word. The Latin gives *dominae*; the Italian *le padrone*. The obvious objections to this rendering are that it robs the sentence of such approximation to truth as the lower interpretation would leave in it, and that it is inconsistent with the words that follow—'so as a man may have a quarrel' (i.e. a reason to give himself) 'to marry when he will.' A young man would hardly think it an inducement to marriage that he would be compelled thereby to submit himself to a *domina*, as such. The word, in Bacon's day, bore the same two-fold sense which it bears now. Conf. e.g. 'Which hath turned Metis the wife to Metis the mistress, that is the councells of State to which princes are solemnly married, to councells of gracious persons.' Essay Of Councell, in the MS. date 1607–12; vide Arber, Harmony of Essays, p. 318.

So in Raleigh's Instructions to his son, cap. ii. 'Be sure of this, that how many mistresses soever thou hast, so many enemies thou shalt purchase to thyself . . . . for howsoever a lewd woman please thee for a time, thou wilt hate her in the end, and she will study to destroy thee.'

[g] *a quarrel*] i.e. a reason to give himself. Lat. *ansa*. I can find no precise parallel to this use of the word. *Quarrel* = reason of dispute, is common enough.

the man who has them has given hostages to fortune. The reasoning would hold better in an inverse order—Wife and children are impediments to great enterprises, for the man who hath them hath given hostages to fortune. Possibly the phrase 'hath given hostages to fortune' may be taken as a rhetorical flourish = is at a disadvantage in his efforts after fortune.

l. 6. *Yet it were great reason*] Conf. the opening passage of the second book of the Advancement of Learning. 'It might seem to have more convenience, though it come often otherwise to pass (excellent king), that those which are fruitful in their generations, and have in themselves the foresight of immortality in their descendants, should likewise be more careful of the good estate of future times; unto which they know they must transmit and commend over their dearest pledges.' Works, iii. 321.

P. 52, l. 5. *certain self-pleasing and humorous minds*] Bacon had probably in his mind a passage in which Montaigne confesses that he himself was of this temper. 'Il (sc. le mariage) se treuve en ce temps plus commode aux ames simples et populaires, où les delices, la curiosité et l'oysifveté ne le troublent pas tant: les humeurs desbauchees, comme est la mienne, qui hais toute sorte de liaison et d'obligation, n'y sont pas si propres :

Et mihi dulce magis resoluto vivere collo.'

Essays, bk. iii. chap. 5.

P. 53, l. 3. *Ulysses*] Bacon seems here to have had in his memory two passages, one from Cicero, the other from Joannes Regius's Latin translation of Plutarch's dialogue, 'Quod bruta animalia ratione utantur.' The passage from Cicero corresponds more exactly than the other to Bacon's *praetulit immortalitati*. 'Ac si nos, id quod maxime debet, nostra patria delectat; cujus rei tanta est vis ac tanta natura, ut Ithacam illam in asperrimis saxulis, tanquam nidulum, affixam, sapientissimus vir immortalitati anteponeret,' &c. De Oratore, lib. i. cap. 44.

The passage from Plutarch comes nearer to the sense and it introduces the catch-word *vetulam*. Circe, replying to a remark of Ulysses, says, 'Quasi vero dudum his absurdiora in teipsum non commiseris, qui, relicta mecum immortali minimeque senescente vita, ad mortalem foeminam (ac potius, ut ego quidem sentio, jam vetulam) per mille adhuc incommoda properes.' Plut. Opera, H. Stephanus (1572). Latin version of p. 184 in the Greek.

That Bacon had Plutarch's dialogue in his mind appears from his remark in the Advancement of Learning, where he refers with grave and contemptuous disapproval to the choice which he attributes to Ulysses, passing judgment in much the same terms and for much the same reasons as those used by a third speaker, Gryllus, later on in the dialogue. Bacon's words are: 'Nevertheless I do not pretend,

and I know it will be impossible by any pleading of mine, to reverse the judgment, either of Aesop's cock, that preferred the barleycorn before the gem, or . . . of Ulysses, *qui vetulam praetulit immortalitati*, being a figure of those which prefer custom and habit before all excellency: or of a number of the like popular judgments. For these things continue as they have been,' &c. Works, iii. 319. So in Plutarch, Gryllus reproaches Ulysses because 'consueta gaudens venere, quum sis mortalis, cum dea coire noluisti' (trans. of p. 1820 in Greek). The preceding words, which I do not venture to quote, are even more precisely to the point.

l. 11. *one of the wise men*] Thales the wise, being importuned by his mother (who pressed hard upon him) to marry, prettily put her off, shifting and avoiding her cunningly with words: for at the first time, when she was in hand with him, he said unto her: Mother, it is too soon, and it is not yet time: afterwards, when he had passed the flower of his age, and that she set upon him the second time and was very instant: Alas, mother, it is now too late and the time is past.' Plutarch, Symposiaques, Bk. iii. Quest. 6. So in Diog. Laert., Life of Thales: Καὶ λέγουσιν, ὅτι τῆς μητρὸς ἀναγκαζούσης αὐτὸν γῆμαι, Νὴ Δία, ἔλεγεν, οὐδέπω καιρός. Εἶτα, ἐπειδὴ παρήβησεν, ἐγκειμένης, εἰπεῖν, οὐκέτι καιρός. Lib. i. sec. 26.

Montaigne notes the story and with more distinct approval. 'Thales y donna les plus vrayes bornes; qui, jeune, respondit à sa mere le pressant de se marier, "qu'il n'estoit pas temps"; et, devenu sur l'aage, "qu'il n'estoit plus temps."' Essays, bk. ii. chap. 8.

l. 17. *but this never fails* &c.] Bacon, elsewhere, generalizes on this subject. Conf. 'Another reprehension of this colour (viz. *quod quis culpa sua contraxit, majus malum; quod ab externis imponitur, minus malum*), is in respect of the well bearing of evils wherewith a man can charge nobody but himself, which maketh them the less. *Leve fit quod bene fertur onus.* And therefore many natures that are either extremely proud and will take no fault to themselves, or else very true and cleaving to themselves (when they see the blame of anything that falls out ill must light upon themselves), have no other shift but to bear it out well, and to make the least of it. . . . And therefore it is commonly seen, that women that marry husbands of their own choosing against their friends' consents, if they be never so ill used, yet you shall seldom see them complain, but to set a good face on it' (Colours of Good and Evil, viii). Works, vii. 87.

IX.

OF ENVY.

THERE be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate or bewitch but love and envy: they both have vehement wishes; they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions; and they come easily into the eye, especially upon the presence of the objects; which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see, likewise, the Scripture calleth envy *an evil eye;* and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars *evil aspects;* so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the act of envy, an ejaculation, or irradiation of the eye. Nay, some have been so curious as to note that the times when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt are, when the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph; for that sets an edge upon envy: and besides, at such times, the spirits of the person envied do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place), we will handle what persons are apt to envy others; what persons are most subject to be envied themselves; and what is the difference between public and private envy.

A man that hath no virtue in himself ever envieth virtue in others; for men's minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others' evil; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and whoso is out of hope to attain to another's virtue will seek to come at even hand[a] by depressing another's fortune.

A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious;

[a] *to come at even hand*] i. e. to come to even terms or to an equality. Lat. *ut minor intersit disparitas*. For this use of 'hand,' conf. 'Business is bought at a dear hand (Lat. *magno*) where there is small dispatch.' Essay 25. And, 'Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand, his ordinary expenses ought to be but to the half of his receipts.' Essay 27.

for to know much of other men's matters cannot be because all that ado may concern his own estate[b]; therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure in looking upon the fortunes of others: neither can he that mindeth but his own business find much matter for envy; for envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home: *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus.*

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise; for the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons and eunuchs and old men and bastards are envious: for he that cannot possibly mend his own case will do what he can to impair another's; except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it should be said, that a eunuch, or a lame man, did such great matters, affecting the honour of a miracle: as it was in Narses the eunuch, and Agesilaus and Tamerlane that were lame men.

The same is the case of men that rise after[c] calamities

[b] *his own estate*] i. e. his own affairs. Lat. *suis rebus.* Bacon, it will be seen, *passim*, uses *state* and *estate* indifferently. They are in fact the same word, as are *special* and *especial; stablish* and *establish*; *statute* and the old *estatute.* His use of *estate* where modern usage would give *state* is very common. Vide infra. 'This public envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon kings and estates themselves.' Then, a few lines further: 'The envy though hidden is truly upon the state itself.' Conf. also, 'For that which may concern the sovereign and estate;' followed shortly after by, 'when there is matter of law intervening in business of state.' Essay 56. Conversely, in Essay 28, we find, 'Who hath a state to repair may not despise small things.' And, in Essay 34, 'A great state left to an heir is a lure to all the birds of prey.' Sometimes, too, the word has a personal sense which we should not now give to it, as when Bacon speaks of it as a happy thing 'when kings and states do often consult with judges.' Essay 56. So Segar, more distinctly still, in his chapter 'Of honourable places due to great estates,' says, 'A baron is an estate of great dignity in blood honour and habit, a peer of the realm and companion of princes.' Honor Military and Civil, bk. iv. cap. 22.

[c] *that rise after* &c.] The Latin, *qui e calamitatibus resurgunt*, implies that

and misfortunes; for they are as men fallen out with the times, and think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain-glory, are ever envious, for they cannot want work[d]: it being impossible but many, in some one of those things, should surpass them; which was the character of Adrian the emperor, that mortally envied poets and painters, and artificers in works wherein he had a vein[e] to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolk, and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised; for it doth upbraid[f] unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth[g] likewise more into the note of others; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because when his sacrifice was better accepted there was no body to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to envy. First, persons of eminent virtue when they are advanced are less envied. For their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather. Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's self; and where there is no comparison, no envy; and therefore kings are not envied

Bacon means to speak of men who have fallen from a high estate into calamities and misfortunes, and have thence risen again.

[d] *cannot want work*] Lat. *ubique enim occurrunt objecta invidiae.*

[e] *a vein*] i. e. an inclination. Lat. *quibus ipse praecellere gestiebat.* Conf. 'that is a vein which would be bridled.' Essay 32.

[f] *doth upbraid* &c.] For an instance of this construction, now out of date, vide

'May they not justly to our climes upbraid,
Shortness of night, and penury of shade.'
Prior, Solomon, bk. i. 293–4.

[g] *incurreth* &c.] i. e. comes more under the observation of others. The Latin *in aliorum notam magis incurrit* is clearer than the Latinised English.

but by kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that unworthy[h] persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas, contrariwise, persons of worth and merit are most envied when their fortune continueth long; for by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre; for fresh men grow up that darken it.

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising; for it seemeth but right done to their birth: besides, there seemeth not much added to their fortune; and envy is as the sunbeams, that beat hotter upon a bank or steep rising ground than upon a flat; and, for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly and *per saltum*.

Those that have joined with their honour great travels[i], cares, or perils, are less subject to envy; for men think that they earn their honours hardly, and pity them sometimes; and pity ever healeth envy: wherefore you shall observe, that the more deep and sober sort of politic persons, in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves what a life they lead, chanting a *quanta patimur*; not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy. But this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves; for nothing increaseth envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business; and nothing doth extinguish envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inferior officers in their full rights and pre-eminences of their places; for by that means there be so many screens between him and envy.

[h] *unworthy*] Probably, undeserving. Lat. *indignis*. A sense on the whole best suited to the passage.

[i] *great travels*] i. e. *travails*. Lat. *labores magnos*. Conf. 'And most specially that the travels therein taken (i. e. in Sir Stephen Proctor's project touching penal laws) may be considered and discerned of by the Lord Treasurer.' Letters and Life, iv. 104.

Bacon almost always uses *travel* where we should use *travail*, and *travaile* where we should use *travel*. In Essay 18, this is the spelling of the original throughout.

Above all, those are most subject to envy which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner: being never well but while they are showing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition: whereas wise men will rather do sacrifice to envy, in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose, to be crossed and overborne in things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding so much is true, that the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without arrogancy and vain-glory) doth draw less envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion; for in that course a man doth but disavow fortune [k], and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this part, as we said in the beginning that the act of envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft; and that is, to remove the lot [l] (as they call it) and to lay it upon another; for which purpose the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive [m] the envy that would come upon themselves; sometimes upon ministers and servants, sometimes upon colleagues and associates, and the like; and, for that turn, there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost.

Now, to speak of public envy: there is yet some good in public envy; whereas in private there is none; for public envy is as an ostracism, that eclipseth men when

[k] *doth but disavow* &c.] i. e. does but admit that fortune is to blame for having used him better than he deserved. Lat. *nihil aliud facit quis, quam ut fortunam insimulet.*

[l] *the lot*] i. e. the spell cast upon a man by witchcraft. Vide note at end of Essay.

[m] *to derive*] i. e. to draw off, or divert. Conf. 'As natural water . . . is first forced up into a cistern and thence fetched and derived for use.' Works, iii. 483.

they grow too great; and therefore it is a bridle also to great ones, to keep them within bounds.

This envy, being in the Latin word *invidia*, goeth in the modern languages by the name of discontentment; of which we shall speak in handling sedition. It is a disease in a state like to infection; for, as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound and tainteth it, so, when envy is gotten once into a state, it traduceth even the best actions thereof and turneth them into an ill odour; and therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible actions[n]; for that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in infections, which, if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This public envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon kings and estates themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the envy upon the minister be great when the cause of it in him is small; or if the envy be general in a manner upon all the ministers of an estate, then the envy (though hidden) is truly upon the state itself. And so much of public envy or discontentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general touching the affection of envy, that of all other[o] affections it is the most importune and continual; for of other affections there is occasion given but now and then; and therefore it was well said, *Invidia festos dies non agit:* for it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted that love and envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, because

[n] *plausible actions*] Lat. *gratas et populares.* Plausible may be either *courting applause* or *deserving applause.* Bacon uses the word in both senses—'Judges ought to be more reverend than plausible.' Lat. *gratiosum.* Essay 56. And, 'The best actions of a state and the most plausible and which ought to give greatest contentment.' Essay 15.

[o] *of all other* &c.] i. e. more importune (or importunate) than any other affection. Vide note on Essay 3.

they are not so continual. It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called *The envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night;* as it always cometh to pass that envy worketh subtilely, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

Notes and Illustrations.

In this Essay, the word envy is used equivocally. What Bacon terms 'private envy' is generally envy in the ordinary sense: sometimes it is malevolence, the Greek *ἐπιχαιρεκακία*. Public envy is explained as discontentment. Thus, when Bacon remarks that where there is no comparison there is no envy, and that therefore kings are not envied but by kings, he is using envy in the former sense. When he says that in certain named cases the envy is on the state (Lat. *invidia regem aut statum ipsum petit*) he is using the word in the latter sense as=disaffection or discontent.

P. 56, l. 1. *none of the affections*] Conf. Plutarch, 'There grew some question upon a time, at the table, as touching those that are reported to be eye-biters, or to bewitch with their eyes .... The scent, the voice, the speech, the breath, be certain defluxions and streams, as it were, flowing from the bodies of living creatures ..... and great likelihood there is also that the same should pass from the eye more than from any other conduit of the body: for the sight, being a sense very swift, active, and nimble, doth send forth and disperse from it a wonderful fiery puissance, together with a spirit that carrieth and directeth it .... Love, one of the greatest and most vehement passions of the mind, hath the source and original beginning at the eye ... for the very aspect and regard of such persons as are in the flower of their beauty, and that which passeth from their eyes, whether it be light or flowing off of the spirits, doth liquifie and consume those that be enamoured on them .... Then *Patrocleas*; "True in bodily passions; but how is it possible that the only cast or regard of the eye should transmit any noisance or hurt into the body of another?"' The answer is that 'envy filleth the body with an untoward and bad disposition; when therefore they who be infected with envy do cast their eyes upon others, and so shoot their venomous rays, like unto poisoned darts upon them, if such chance to be wounded and hurt thereby whom they look upon and wistly behold, I see no strange thing nor a matter incredible.' Symposiaques, Bk. v., Question 7.

Plutarch adds much more to the same effect, but the entire passage is too long to quote.

l. 2. *they both have* &c.] Bacon here, to use his own words, *affingit parallela quae non sunt.* Love has vehement wishes, but these belong to the person fascinated, to the lover. The vehement wishes of envy belong to the person fascinating, to the envious man. The same confusion of thought runs through the whole clause.

l. 6. *fascination*] 'Fascination is the power and act of imagination, intensive upon other bodies than the body of the imaginant.' Works, iii. 381.

l. 7. *Scripture calleth* &c.] Vide St. Mark vii. 22. But it is obvious to remark that the evil eye of Scripture, ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός, implies at most the wish to do harm. There is no hint given of power to do mischief by an irradiation.

l. 9. *influences of the stars*] This is the recognised astrological term for the power exercised by the stars. Conf. 'That is the fume of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon those things below than indeed they have.' Essay 58. So Milton:

'With store of Ladies, whose bright eyes
Rain influence, and judge the prize.' L'Allegro, 121.

l. 9. *aspects*] Aspect, according to Kepler, is determined by the angle formed by the rays from two planets coming to a point on the earth. Conf. 'Aspectus est in mera incidentia seu concursu radiorum .... Sequitur operatio quia binorum radii certo angulo in puncto eo concurrunt, in quo collocatur res immateriata, aspectûs receptiva facultas, nempe animalis.' Kepleri Opera, i. 371. Frisch 1857.

Sir Christopher Heydon, an astrological writer of Bacon's day, frequently uses this word. In one passage it shifts into irradiations, and may be therefore so understood. 'Wherefore three aequaliter Hexagons or three △ Aspects do also fill the whole space about the center. To which we may not improperly add the opposite aspect. ..... These speculations therefore considered, it were senseless to imagine that Nature hath so many ways honored these Irradiations of the Stars in vain, and admonished us to a special regard of them .... if they were not indued with more virtue than others.' Astrological Discourse, sec. xvii.

It is used also to mean the relations of the heavenly bodies to one another; the positions from which they may be said to regard one another.

Conf. 'In astronomy it signifieth the distance between the planets and the heavenly signs. And there are four such aspects. The first called a Trine Aspect (because it divideth the heavens into three even parts) is the distance of four signs from each other: as Aries beholdeth Leo and Sagittarius with a Trine Aspect, because

they are distant four signs, the one before, the other after. The second called a Quartill is the distance of three signs, as Aries beholdeth Cancer and Capricornus with a Quartill Aspect, because they are distant three signs from him.' He goes on to say that the aspect is Sextill where the distance is two signs, and Opposite where the distance is six. Bullokar, English Expositor, *sub voce.*

Shakespeare uses it, as Bacon does, of the gaze of the heavenly bodies upon the earth :

> 'HERMIONE. There's some ill planet reigns:
> I must be patient, till the heavens look
> With an aspect more favourable.'
> Winter's Tale, act ii. sc. 1.

l. 11. *Nay, some have been so curious* &c.] What Bacon says elsewhere about 'spirits' may serve to explain what he speaks of here as not unworthy to be thought on in fit place. He lays it down as a most certain fact that 'inest omni tangibili spiritus, corpore crassiore obtectus et obsessus. . . . Nullum corpus nobis notum, hic in superiore parte terrae, spiritu vacat. Spiritus autem ille non est virtus aliqua, aut energia aut entelechia aut nugae; sed plane corpus tenue, invisibile; attamen locatum, dimensum, reale. In omnibus animatis duo sunt genera spirituum : spiritus mortuales, quales sunt inanimatis; et superadditus spiritus vitalis. Spiritus mortuales aëri proxime consubstantiales sunt: spiritus vitales magis accedunt ad substantiam flammae. Flamma substantia momentanea est: aër fixa: spiritûs vivi in animalibus media est ratio.' Works, ii. 213, 214, 216, 225.

This then is what Bacon means when he speaks of spirits. The working and effect of these spirits are described also. But the passage which comes closest to the Essay is in the Natural History, where the theory of the Essay is stated very fully: 'The affections (no doubt) do make the spirits more powerful and active: and especially those affections which draw the spirits into the eyes: which are two: love and envy which is called *oculus malus* . . . . . And this is observed likewise; that the aspects that procure love are not gazings, but sudden glances and dartings of the eye. As for envy, that emitteth some malign and poisonous spirit, which taketh hold of the spirit of another; and is likewise of greatest force when the cast of the eye is oblique. It hath been noted also, that it is most dangerous when an envious eye is cast upon persons in glory and triumph and joy: the reason whereof is, for that at such times the spirits come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the percussion of the envious eye more at hand: and therefore it hath been noted that after great triumphs men have been ill-disposed for some days following.' Works, ii. 653.

That the eye of envy was especially dangerous to men at the time of their prosperity, or during great exaltation of mind, was a common belief with Greeks and Romans. Hence we find various forms of deprecation, both of envy and of the prosperity which gives occasion to it.

Conf. e. g. : 'Aut si ultra placitum (i. e. so as to displease the higher powers) laudarit, baccare frontem Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.' Virg. Ecl. vii. 27, 28 (and Conington's note).

P. 57, l. 7. *Non est* &c.] 'Nam curiosus nemo est quin sit malevolus.' Plaut. Stichus i. 3, l. 54.

l. 13. *Deformed persons and eunuchs*] I think that this stroke is aimed at his cousin the Earl of Salisbury and at Lord Keeper Williams. On his relations with the Earl of Salisbury, conf. note on Essay 44, on Deformity. As regards Lord Keeper Williams, Bacon may well have thought that Williams had done what he could to impair his case. His fall and disgrace had been due in great part to the advice of Williams to the King and Buckingham to further the demand raised in the Parliament of 1621 for reform and for the redress of grievances, and to give no support to the persons who were the just objects of attack. Subsequently, too, Bacon's pardon was stayed at the seal by Williams who was then Lord Keeper, and was only passed after some delay and probably under pressure from the King. That Williams was a eunuch appears in his Life by Hacket, Part i. p. 8.

l. 20. *Agesilaus*] 'As for the deformity of his legs, the one being shorter than the other, in the flower of his youth, through his pleasant wit, he used the matter so pleasantly and patiently that he would merrily mock himself: which manner of merry behaviour did greatly hide the blame of the blemish. Yea further, his life and courage was the more commendable in him, for that men saw that notwithstanding his lameness he refused no pains nor labour.' Plutarch (Life of Agesilaus), Lives, p. 612.

l. 20. *Tamerlane*] That Tamerlane was lame is certain; but whether he was so born or was lamed by a wound received in one of his early battles, Gibbon leaves in doubt. His character has been very variously drawn, but on his stupendous achievements all writers agree. The name is a European corruption of the Turkish Timour lenc or Timour the lame. Vide Gibbon, Decline and Fall, chap. 65.

l. 22. *The same is the case of men* &c.] Bacon may have written this with some recollection of his old enemy, Coke. Coke had fallen under the King's displeasure and had been deprived of his place as Chief Justice, and had afterwards been received back into favour, had taken his old place at the Council-board, and had been employed in the King's affairs. In the inquiry, in the Parliament of 1620-21, about unlawful patents and monopolies, in the advising and granting

of which Bacon had had a principal part, it was Coke who was most forward and persisted in so shaping the proceedings that Bacon should not escape. Conf. Letters and Life, vii, chap. 5, sec. 8 and 9. Bacon was well aware of this. It was of vital consequence to him that there should be no question raised about the past, 'and so not to look back but to the future: And I do hear,' he writes to Buckingham, 'almost all men of judgment in the house wish now that way. I woo nobody: I do but listen, and I have doubt only of Sir Edward Coke.' Letters and Life, vii. 192. His doubt was justified by the event.

P. 58, l. 8. *Adrian the Emperor*] 'Quamvis esset oratione et versu promptissimus, et in omnibus artibus peritissimus, tum professores omnium artium semper ut doctior risit, contempsit, obtrivit. Cum his ipsis professoribus et philosophis, libris vel carminibus invicem editis certavit. Et Favorinus quidem, cum verbum ejus quoddam ab Hadriano reprehensum esset atque ille cessisset, arguentibus amicis quod male cederet Hadriano de verbo quod idonei auctores usurpassent, risum jucundissimum movit. Ait enim, Non recte suadetis, familiares, qui non patimini me illum doctiorem omnibus credere qui habet triginta legiones.' Spartiani Hadrianus, p. 141. (Erasmus, Vitae Caesarum, fol. 1546.)

P. 59, l. 15. *Those that have joined* &c.] Conf. 'Men ordinarily bear envy unto those who seem to acquire glory *gratis*, without any cost and to come by virtue easily ... whereas seldom or never they envy such as have bought the same very dear, with many travails and great dangers.' Plutarch, Morals, 253.

l. 20. *are ever bemoaning themselves*] Conf. the following extracts from The State and Dignity of a Secretary of State's place, with the care and peril thereof—by Robert, Earl of Salisbury: 'All men of war do malign them except they will be at their desires. Their fellow counsellors envy them ... and wheresoever a prince hath cause to delay or deny, to search or punish, none so soon bear so much burden. ... The place of secretary is dreadful if he serve not a constant prince. ... If such an one should find that his hope cannot warrant him, no not against the slanders of those wicked ones whom he must use only, then surely that secretary must resolve that the first day of his entry is the first day of his misery.' Somers' Tracts, vol. v. 553 (second edition). Bacon, too, makes constant complaint about the toil and distastefulness of offices which it was the effort of his life to reach. Vide Essay 11 and note on Essay 38.

P. 60, l. 19. *to remove the lot*] Conf. Bodin, De la Demonomanie des Sorciers, lib. iii. cap. 2 (published 1580). 'En second lieu on tient que si les Sorciers guerissent un homme maleficié, il faut qu'ils donnent le Sort à un autre. Cela est vulgaire par la confession de plusieurs Sorciers. Et de faict j'ay vu un prisonnier à Paris l'an 1569,

qui guérissoit les chevaux et les hommes quelquesfois: . . . Un jour ayant donné le Sort au cheval d'un gentilhomme, on vint à luy, il guerit et donna le Sort à son homme : on vint à luy pour guerir aussi l'homme : Il fist response qu'on demandast au gentilhomme lequel il aymait mieux perdre son homme ou son cheval : le gentilhomme se trouva bien empesché : et cependant qu'il deliberoit, son homme mourut, et le Sorcier fut pris. Et faict à noter que le diable veut toujours gaigner au change . . . et si le Sorcier ne donne le Sort à un autre, il est en danger de sa vie.' Bodin gives several instances of this. So Alexander Roberts, whose Treatise of Witchcraft (1616) is largely copied from Bodin, in his eighth proposition (or chapter) writes, 'If the evill be taken from the person presently afflicted then it is layd upon his friends children or cattell, and sometime it falleth to the lot of the witche herself.'

P. 61, l. 28. *Invidia festos dies non agit*] This sentence occurs also in the Antitheta under 'Invidia.' Works, i. p. 695. Conf. also, 'Invidia pessima est, et carpit spiritus, atque illi rursus corpus; eo magis, quod fere perpetua est, nec agit (ut dicitur) festos dies.' Works, ii. 172. Cardan writes to the same effect, but not in the same words: 'Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni majus tormentum. nam praeter id quod maxime discruciet, nullum finem velut reliqua vitia invenit. Ira enim defervescit, gula satiatur . . . invidia nunquam quiescit, cum semper aliquem esse necesse sit, imo plures qui te ipso vel aetate vel divitiis vel forma aut virtute sint beatiores.' Cardan, De Sap. lib. ii. (ed. 4to. 1543) p. 88.

P. 62, l. 3. *The envious man*] Vide Matthew xiii. 25. But the text says nothing about an envious man. The Greek is ἐχθρὸς, the Vulgate *inimicus*, the English, his enemy.

X.

OF LOVE.

THE stage is more beholding[a] to love than the life of man; for as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies,

[a] *beholding*] i. e. beholden. Lat. *plus debet.* This obsolete form was in common use in Bacon's day. Conf. 'Wherein I must acknowledge myself beholding to you.' Works, vi. 539. And, 'For the expressing of affections, passions, corruptions and customs, we are beholding to poets more than to the philosophers' works.' Works, iii. 346, and *passim.*

and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much mischief, sometimes like a Siren, sometimes like a Fury. You may observe that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent), there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love, which shows that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion. You must except, nevertheless, Marcus Antonius, the half partner of the empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius, the Decemvir and lawgiver; whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate; but the latter was an austere and wise man: and therefore it seems (though rarely) that love can find entrance, not only into an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor saying of Epicurus, *Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus:* as if man, made for the contemplation of heaven and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol[b], and make himself subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are), yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion, and how it braves[c] the nature and value of things, by this, that the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole is comely in nothing but in love. Neither is it merely in the phrase; for whereas it hath been well

[b] *a little idol*] i. e. a little image or puppet. The notion of it as an object of worship is conveyed by the verb, not by the noun itself. Conf. 'Nevertheless it was not her meaning . . . that this disguised idol should possess the crown.' Works, vi. 46. And, 'He knew the pretended Plantagenet to be but an idol.' Page 52.

[c] *braves the nature of things*] i. e. defies (Lat. *insultet*) by speaking of them in perpetual hyperbole, with no regard to what they really are. But the word may mean also *makes brave*, i.e. adorns, with the further sense, from the context, of over-adorns, praises in terms of excess. For the former of these senses, conf.

'Thou wilt brave me with these saucy terms.'
Henry VI, Part 2, act iv. sc. 10.

For the latter,

'KING. Who saw the sun to day?
RAT. Not I, my lord.
KING. Then he disdains to shine; for, by the book,
He should have braved the east an hour ago.'
Richard III, act v. sc. 3.

said that the arch flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a man's self, certainly the lover is more; for there was never proud man thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved; and therefore it was well said *That it is impossible to love and to be wise.* Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved, but to the loved most of all, except the love be reciproque; for it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded, either with the reciproque, or with an inward and secret contempt; by how much the more[d] men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not only other things but itself. As for the other losses, the poet's relation doth well figure them: That he that preferred Helena, quitted the gifts of Juno and Pallas; for whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both riches and wisdom. This passion hath his floods in the very times of weakness, which are, great prosperity and great adversity, though this latter hath been less observed; both which times kindle love, and make it more fervent, and therefore show it to be the child of folly. They do best who, if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter[e], and sever it wholly from their serious affairs and actions of life; for if it check[f] once with business, it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can no ways be true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to love: I think it is but as they are given to wine, for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures. There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which, if it

[d] *by how much the more*] Lat. *quo magis.* Conf. Note on Essay 6, p. 43.

[e] *make it keep quarter*] i. e. keep its proper place. Lat. *in ordinem redigunt.* French *qui font garder à cette affection son quartier.* Conf.

'Not a man
Shall pass his quarter.'
Timon of Athens, act v. sc. 5.

[f] *if it check*] i. e. interfere. Lat. *si se immisceat.* Conf. 'Suspicions . . . cloud the mind, they lose friends, and they check with business, whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly.' Essay 31.

be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable, as it is seen sometime in friars. Nuptial love maketh mankind, friendly love perfecteth it, but wanton love corrupteth and imbaseth it.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 68, l. 2. *like a Siren*] Conf. Wisdom of the Ancients, xxxi, where Bacon explains the fable of the Sirens as an allegory on the allurements of pleasures. Works, vi. 684.

l. 6. *great spirits and great business*] Vide Paradise Regained, bk. ii. 149–227, where, in course of a consultation among the potentates of Hell how to tempt Christ, Satan, arguing on the uselessness of tempting him with women, says *inter alia*:

> 'Among the sons of men
> How many have with a smile made small account
> Of beauty and her lures, easily scorned
> All her assaults on worthier things intent.
> —— He whom we attempt is wiser far
> Than Solomon, of more exalted mind,
> Made and set solely on the accomplishment
> Of greatest things.'

l. 15. *a poor saying of Epicurus*] The meaning of these words is singularly perverted here. They are quoted by Seneca, as one of several authorities in proof that the opinion of the multitude is of no value or account. 'Egregiè hoc tertium Epicurus, cum uni ex consortibus studiorum suorum scriberet: *Haec*, inquit, *ego non multis, sed tibi: satis enim magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus.* Ista, mi Lucili, condenda in animum sunt, ut contemnas voluptatem ex plurium assensione venientem. Multi te laudant. Ecquid habes cur placeas tibi si is es quem multi intelligant?' Seneca, Ep. vii. *sub finem.* The passage is also quoted in the Advancement of Learning, where Bacon remarking on a fault commonly incident to learned men, 'that they fail sometimes in applying themselves to particular persons,' adds, 'for it is speech for a lover and not for a wise man, *Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus.*' Works, iii. 279.

P. 69, l. 1. *the arch flatterer*] 'Plato writeth ... The lover is ordinarily blinded in the thing that he loveth, unless he have been taught, yea, and accustomed long before to affect and esteem things honest above those that be his own properly, or inbred and familiar to him.

This is it that giveth unto a flatterer that large field, under pretence of friendship, where he hath a fort (as it were) commodiously seated, and with the vantage to assail and endammage us, and that is Self-love: whereby every man being the first and greatest flatterer of himself, he can be very well content to admit a stranger to come near and flatter him, namely, when he thinketh and is well willing withal to witness with him, and to confirm that good self-conceit, and opinion of his own.' Plutarch, Morals, p. 69.

The reference to Plato is to the Laws, bk. v. p. 731 D, *et seq.* The application of this to the flatterer is Plutarch's own.

Conf. also Essay 27: 'There is no such flatterer as a man's self.' And Essay 53: 'If he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self.'

l. 5. *it was well said*] Conf. Publii Syri Fragmenta, De amore et foeminâ, 3:

'Amare et sapere vix Deo conceditur.'

And Plutarch, Life of Agesilaus: 'One day when he was driven to remove in haste on a sudden, and to leave one sick behind him whom he loved dearly; the sick man calling him by his name as he was going his way, besought him that he would not forsake him. Agesilaus (as Hieronymus the Philosopher reporteth) turned back again and said: O how hard it is both to love and be wise.' North's Trans., p. 617.

l. 13. *The poet's relation*]

'Praeposui regnis ego te: quae maxima quondam
Pollicita est nobis nupta sororque Jovis.
Dumque tuo possem circumdare brachia collo,
Contemta est virtus Pallade dante mihi.'

Ovid, Heroides, xvi. Paris Helenae, 163–166.

l. 22. *make it keep quarter* &c.] Bacon had a good right to give this advice. His own matrimonial projects were conducted in strict agreement with it. He appears first, in 1597, as a suitor to Lady Hatton, a young and wealthy widow, at a time when he himself was in especial need of money. Finding or anticipating difficulties, he appealed to Essex for help. The terms of his letter are not those of a man who suffered love 'to check with business.'—'I brake with your Lordship myself at the Tower, and I take it my brother hath since renewed the same motion, touching a fortune I was in thought to attempt *in genere oeconomico*.' 'My suit to your Lordship is for your several letters to be left with me, dormant, to the gentlewoman and either of her parents; wherein I do not doubt but as the beams of your favour have often dissolved the coldness of my fortune, so in this argument your Lordship will do the like with your pen.' The request was complied with, but the suit came to nothing. All that is known about it is given in Letters and Life, ii. 53–55.

In his next venture he was more successful. The first intimation which we have of it is in a letter dated 1603 to Robert Lord Cecil, in which he gives among the reasons that led him to wish to be knighted—'I have found out an alderman's daughter, an handsome maiden, to my liking.' Letters and Life, iii. 80. The lady was Alice, daughter of Alderman Barnham, and co-heiress with her three sisters to her deceased father's estate. After a delay of some years he was married to her in the spring of 1606. Letters and Life, iii. 290. The rest may be conjectured from a passage in his last will and testament, dated Dec. 19, 1625: 'Whatsoever I have given, granted, confirmed or appointed to my wife, in the former part of this my will, I do now, for just and great causes, utterly revoke and make void, and leave her to her right only.' Letters and Life, vii. 545.

l. 26. *martial men are given to love*] Conf. *Ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ τιμᾶσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, ἄλλως τε κἂν τύχωσι γυναικοκρατούμενοι, καθάπερ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ πολεμικῶν γενῶν . . . . Ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ μυθολογήσας πρῶτος οὐκ ἀλόγως συζεύξαι τὸν Ἄρη πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην. ἢ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀρρένων ὁμιλίαν ἢ πρὸς τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν φαίνονται κατακώχιμοι πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι.* Arist. Pol. ii. 9, secs. 7 and 8. And—'A man at arms is always void of ceremony, which is the wall that stands betwixt Piramus and Thisbe, that is man and woman . . . . This kind of bashfulness is far from men of valorous disposition and especially from soldiers: for such are ever men without doubt, forward and confident, losing no time lest they should lose opportunity, which is the best factor for a lover,' &c. Valour Anatomized, by Sir Philip Sidney. Somers' Tracts, i. 496 (2nd edition).

XI.

OF GREAT PLACE.

MEN in great place are thrice servants: servants of the sovereign or state, servants of fame, and servants of business; so as they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty; or to seek power over others, and to lose power over a man's

self. The rising unto place is laborious, and by pains men come to greater pains; and it is sometimes base, and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing: *Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere.* Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason; but are impatient of privateness even in age and sickness, which require the shadow[a]; like old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street-door, though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling they cannot find it: but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when, perhaps, they find the contrary within; for they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly, men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business[b] they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind. *Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.* In place there is license to do good and evil; whereof the latter is a curse: for in evil the best condition is not to will, the second not to can[c]. But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring; for good thoughts (though God accept them) yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put

[a] *the shadow*] i. e. *an indoor life*, contrasted in the next clause with 'sitting at their street-door.' Conf. 'That hath not been softened by an umbratile life, still under the roof, but strengthened by the use of the pure and open air.' Letters and Life, i. 138. And, 'Handicraftsmen and they that sit always, being bred up in the shadow.' Bodin, Commonweal, v. 5 (Knolles' trans.).

[b] *the puzzle of business*] Lat. *dum negotiis distrahuntur.* Fr. *la meslée des affaires.*

[c] *not to can*] Lat. *non posse.* In Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary, *to can* is given as one of the English equivalents of *possum.* Conf. also, 'He could no skill to tune a harp nor a violl.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 117.

in act; and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit and good works is the end of man's motion; and conscience[d] of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest: for if a man can be partaker of God's theatre[e], he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret opera quae fecerunt manus suae, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis;* and then the Sabbath.

In the discharge of thy place set before thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts[f]; and after a time set before thee thine own example; and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same place; not to set off thyself by taxing their memory[g], but to direct thyself what to avoid. Reform, therefore, without bravery[h] or scandal of former

[d] *conscience*] i.e. consciousness. Conf. 'The conscience of good intentions, howsoever succeeding, is a more continual joy to nature than all the provision which can be made for security and repose.' Works, iii. 423. And, 'The reason why the simpler sort are moved with authority is the conscience of their own ignorance.' Hooker, Eccles. Polity, bk. ii. cap. 7, sec. 2.

[e] *can be partaker of God's theatre*] i.e. if a man can see, as God saw, that the works which his hands have made are very good. As the Sabbath, the day of rest, was the close of God's work, so will it be with the man who has worked after the same model. Bacon's prayer, called by him 'The Writer's Prayer,' follows the same line of thought, but instead of 'theatre' uses the word 'vision,' thus marking the sense in which 'theatre' is here to be understood. 'Wherefore if we labour in thy works with the sweat of our brows, thou wilt make us partakers of thy Vision and thy Sabbath.' Works, vii. 260. The same passage occurs, almost word for word, in the Latin, at the close of the Distributio Operis: *Quare si in operibus tuis sudabimus, facies nos visionis tuae et Sabbati tui participes.* Works, i. 145.

[f] *a globe of precepts*] i.e. a compact condensed mass.

[g] *taxing their memory*] i.e. finding fault with. Lat. *eorum memoriam carpendo.* Conf. 'In common speech, (which leaves no virtue untaxed,) he was called *cymini sector.*' Works, iii. 305. And, 'We, as Cato inveighed against Isocrates' scholars, may justly tax our wrangling lawyers—they do *consenescere in litibus*, are so litigious and busie here on earth that I think they will plead their clients' causes hereafter, some of them, in hell.' Burton, Anat. of Melancholy (1837), vol. i. p. 73.

[h] *without bravery*] i.e. ostentation; bravado. Lat. *sine elatione tui ipsius.* Conf. 'Such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery.' Essay 36.

times and persons; but yet set it down to thyself, as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerated; but yet ask counsel of both times; of the ancient time what is best, and of the latter time what is fittest. Seek to make thy course regular, that men may know beforehand what they may expect; but be not too positive [i] and peremptory; and express thyself well when thou digressest from thy rule. Preserve the right of thy place, but stir not questions of jurisdiction; and rather assume thy right in silence and *de facto*, than voice it [k] with claims and challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places; and think it more honour to direct in chief than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place; and do not drive away such as bring thee information as meddlers, but accept of them in good part.

The vices of authority are chiefly four: delays, corruption, roughness, and facility [l]. For delays, give easy access; keep times appointed; go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. For corruption, do not only bind thine own hands or thy servants' hands from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering; for integrity used doth the one; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other; and avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption: therefore, always when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change, and do not think

[i] *positive*] Lat. *pertinax*.

[k] *voice it*] i.e. assert it openly. The Latin here transposes noun and verb, *cum strepitu suscites*. For word, conf. 'The more ancient form, which was to voice the Parliament to be for some other business of estate.' Letters and Life, iv. 372.

[l] *facility*] i. e. over-readiness to yield, weakness.

to steal it[m]. A servant or a favourite, if he be inward[n], and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption. For roughness, it is a needless cause of discontent: severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility, it is worse than bribery; for bribes come but now and then; but if importunity or idle respects[o] lead a man, he shall never be without; as Salomon saith, *To respect persons is not good; for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread.*

It is most true that was anciently spoken; *A place showeth the man;* and it showeth some to the better and some to the worse: *Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset*, saith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he saith, *Solus imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius;* though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends; for honour is or should be the place of virtue; and as in nature things move violently to their place and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm. All rising to great place is by a winding stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self[p] whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will

[m] *to steal it*] i. e. to do it stealthily. Lat. *neque rem suffurari te posse credas.* Conf. ''Twere good, methinks, to steal our marriage.' Taming of the Shrew, act iii. sc. 2.

[n] *inward*] i.e. intimate, confidential. Lat. *apud dominum potens.* Fr. *ton intime.* Conf. 'Applieng myself to be inward w^th^ my La. Dorsett, *per Champners ad utilit. testam.*' Letters and Life, iv. 77. 'Secrecy, on the other side, induceth trust and inwardness.' Works, iii. 460.

[o] *respects*] i. e. preference or regard for persons, as the next clause shows.

[p] *to side a man's self*] Lat. *alteri parti adhaerere.* Conf. 'Mean men in their rising must adhere. . . . Kings had need beware how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party.' Essay 51.

sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them; and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible or too remembering of thy place in conversation and private answers to suitors; but let it rather be said, *When he sits in place, he is another man.*

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 72, l. 5. *to seek power and to lose liberty*] Conf. 'Caesari quoque ipsi, cui omnia licent, propter hoc ipsum multa non licent. Omnium domos illius vigilia defendit, omnium otium illius labor, omnium delicias illius industria, omnium vacationem illius occupatio. Ex quo se Caesar orbi terrarum dedicavit, sibi eripuit; et siderum modo, quae irrequieta semper cursus suos explicant, nunquam illi licet nec subsistere nec quicquam suum facere.' Seneca, Consol. ad Polybium, cap. 26 (p. 95 B).

P. 73, l. 5. *Cum non sis* &c.] Cicero, Epistolarum ad Diversos lib. vii. 3: 'Mortem mihi cur consciscerem, causa nulla visa est: cur optarem, multae. Vetus est enim, *ubi non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere.*' This was written after the battle of Pharsalia and the ruin of the cause with which Cicero had at that time identified himself.

l. 22. *Illi mors gravis* &c.] Seneca, Thyestes, act II. 402.

l. 28. *good dreams*] Conf. 'I fear you will think all our discourses to be but the better sort of dreams; for good wishes, without power to effect, are not much more.' Works, vii. 18.

P. 74, l. 6. *Et conversus* &c.] Genesis i. 31, loosely quoted from the Vulgate. Mr. Spedding compares the passage quoted in the footnotes from the Distributio Operis with St. Augustine's prayer at the close of the Confessions: 'Domine Deus pacem da nobis (omnia enim praestitisti nobis), pacem quietis, pacem Sabbati, Sabbati sine vespera. Omnis quippe iste ordo pulcherrimus rerum valde bonarum modis suis peractis transiturus est, et mane quippe in eis factum est et vespera. Dies autem septimus sine vespera est, nec habet occasum, quia sanctificasti eum ad permansionem sempiternam, ut id quod tu post opera tua bona valde, quamvis ea quietus feceris, requievisti septimo die, hoc praeloquatur nobis vox libri tui, quod et nos post opera nostra, ideo bona valde quia tu nobis ea donasti, sabbato vitae aeternae requiescamus in te.' Conf. xiii. 35-6.

P. 75, l. 5. *of the ancient time* &c.] Bacon's meaning is that although the first institution may be the best absolutely, yet the degenerated new

form may be the fittest relatively to the time into which it has survived, and to the surroundings which have grown up about it.

Conf. 'It is true that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit: and those things which have long gone together are, as it were, confederate within themselves; whereas new things piece not so well.' Essay 24.

l. 10. *stir not questions of jurisdiction.*] Conf. what Bacon says in his Essay on Judicature (56), of 'those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction and are not truly *amici curiae*, but *parasiti curiae*, in puffing a court up beyond her bounds for their own scraps and advantage,' and note on passage.

l. 12. *Preserve likewise* &c.] Plutarch in his Precepts of Policy insists on this. Conf. 'Like as good Patrons or Masters of a ship lay their own hands to some businesse, but others they performe sitting themselves afar off by the meanes of their tools and instruments and by the hands of other servants; . . . even so ought a wise Governour of the Commonwealth to yield now and then unto others the honour of command . . . . and not to move all matters belonging to the state by his own personal speeches nor by his decrees, sentences, acts, and as it were with his own hands execute everything, but to have about him faithful and trusty persons to be his ministers,' &c., &c.

This he illustrates by the case of Metiochus, a follower and favourite of Pericles, 'who making use of his authority out of measure and compasse, by the countenance thereof, would employ himself in all public charges and commissions whatsoever, until at the last he became contemptible and despised;' and by the case of Timesias the Clazomenean, who, he says, 'was otherwise a good man and a sufficient Politician, howbeit little wist he how he was envied in the city, because he would seem to do everything by himselfe, untill such time as there befell unto him such an accident as this. There chanced to be playing in the midst of a street, as he passed by, a company of boies, and their game was who could drive with a cudgell a certaine cockall bone out of a hole. Some boies there were who held that the bone lay still within, but he who had smitten it maintained the contrary, and said withall, I would I had as well dash'd out Timesias' braines out of his head as I am sure this bone was smitten out of the hole. Timesias overheard this word, and knowing thereby what envy and malice all the people bare unto him, returning home presently to his house, and told his wife the whole matter, commanding her to truss and pack up all both bag and baggage, and to follow after him; who immediately went out of doores, and departed for ever out of the city Clazomene.' Holland's Trans., p. 300.

P. 76, l. 9. *Salomon saith*] Prov. xxviii. 21. The text is quoted and remarked on, as here, in the Advancement of Learning: 'Qui cognos-

cit in judicio faciem, non bene facit; iste et pro buccella panis deseret veritatem.' Here is noted that 'a judge were better be a briber than a respecter of persons; for a corrupt judge offendeth not so lightly as a facile.' Works, iii. 450. And somewhat more fully in the De Aug. Scient.: 'Prudentissime notat Parabola in judice magis perniciosam esse facilitatem morum quam corruptelam munerum. Munera enim haudquaquam ab omnibus deferuntur; at vix ulla est causa, in qua non inveniatur aliquid quod flectit judicis animum si personas respiciat.' Works, i. 763.

l. 12. *A place showeth the man*] A saying of disputed authorship. Harpocration, in his Lexicon, citing it as used by Demosthenes, says that Sophocles in his elegies ascribes it to Solon, but that Theophrastus, in his collection of proverbs, and Aristotle, ascribe it to Bias. Vide *Ἀρχὴ ἄνδρα δείκνυσι, Δημοσθένης προοιμίοις δημηγορικοῖς. Σοφοκλῆς μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις, Σολωνός φησιν αὐτὸ εἶναι ἀπόφθεγμα. Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ παροιμιῶν, καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, Βίαντος.* Harpocration, *περὶ τῶν λέξεων*, p. 50. *Πρότερον μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε, μὰ τοὺς θεούς, οὐκ ᾔδειν πρὸς τί ποτ' εἴη τοῦτ' εἰρημένον, ἀρχὴ ἄνδρα δείκνυσι. νῦν δὲ κἂν ἄλλον μοι δοκῶ διδάξαι.* Demosthenes, Prooemia Demegorica, p. 1455. (Reiske's ed. 1770.)

The Sophocles referred to by Harpocration is the second Sophocles, the grandson of the great dramatist. His elegies are not extant. Theophrastus' collection of proverbs is also not extant.

Aristotle's only known reference to it occurs in Eth. Nicom. bk. v. cap. 3 (or 1), sec. 16: *Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εὖ δοκεῖ ἔχειν τὸ τοῦ Βίαντος, ὅτι ἀρχὴ ἄνδρα δείξει· πρὸς ἕτερον γὰρ καὶ ἐν κοινωνίᾳ ἤδη ὁ ἄρχων.* But that Aristotle also made a collection of proverbs appears from a passage in Athenaeus, lib. ii (p. 60, d, e): *Κηφισόδωρος ὁ Ἰσοκράτους μαθητής, ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Ἀριστοτέλους, ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ οὐ ποιήσαντι λόγου ἄξιον τῷ παροιμίας ἀθροῖσαι.* This gives more weight to the passage in the Ethics than would belong to it as an *obiter dictum*.

Vide also Diogenes Laertius, lib. i. sec. 77, where, writing of Pittacus, he says, *Εἰπέ τε . . . . . ἀρχὴ ἄνδρα δεικνύει.*

It occurs among the 'Proverbia Diogeniani,' with no authorship assigned: *Ἀρχὴ ἄνδρα δείκνυσιν: Ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ οἷοί εἰσι φαινομένων.* Cent. iii. 94 in Gaisford's Paroemiographi Graeci.

Plutarch refers to it in his comparison of Cicero with Demosthenes: 'But nothing sheweth a man's nature and condition more (as it is reported and so it is true) than when one is in authority: for that bewrayeth his humour and the affections of his mind, and layeth open also all his secret vices in him.' Lives, North's Trans., p. 883. And again, in his Precepts of Policy: 'Epaminondas . . . . . when his adversaries and ill-willers upon envy had caused him to be chosen a baylife and receiver of the citie revenues, thereby to do him a spight and shrewd turne; he did not despise and thinke basely of the said office:

but saying, that not only Magistracy sheweth what manner of man one is, but also a man sheweth what the Magistracy is, he brought that office into great dignity and reputation, which before was in no credit and account at all.' Holland's Trans., p. 299. Erasmus includes it in the Adagia, sub voce Magistratus virum indicat. He quotes in his remarks upon it a passage from the Antigone, ll. 175–177, to the same general effect:

> Ἀμήχανον δὲ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐκμαθεῖν
> ψυχήν τε καὶ φρόνημα καὶ γνώμην, πρὶν ἂν
> ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ νόμοισιν ἐντριβὴς φανῇ.

Suidas quotes the proverb and explains it as ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιεικῶν, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ βιαίων γενομένων. The rest of the remarks are an imperfect copy of Harpocration. Guicciardini, from whom Bacon quotes elsewhere, concludes his Istoria d'Italia with 'è verissimo e degno di somma laude quel proverbio, che il Magistrato fa manifesto il valore di chi l'esercita.'

l. 14. *Omnium consensu* &c.] Tacitus, Hist. i. 49.

l. 16. *Solus imperantium* &c.] 'Ambigua de Vespasiano fama; solusque omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est.' Tacitus, Hist. i. 50.

Conf. 'Tacitus observeth how rarely raising of the fortune mendeth the disposition: Solus Vespasianus mutatus in melius.' Works, iii. 436.

l. 19. *whom honour amends*] This is given grammatically in the Latin, *si quis honoribus emendatur.*

l. 20. *as in nature* &c.] So in the Advancement of Learning: 'It is no marvel though the soul so placed enjoy no rest, if that principle be true that *Motus rerum est rapidus extra locum, placidus in loco.*' On the truth and value of this principle Bacon himself pronounces, *Schola communis satis habet, si motum naturalem a violento distinguat: et gravia deorsum, levia sursum ferri ex motu naturali pronuntiet. Verum parum proficiunt ad philosophiam hujusmodi speculationes. Ista enim natura, ars, violentia, compendia verborum sunt et nugae.* Works, iii. 118.

l. 23. *All rising* &c.] Conf. 'There is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts.' Essay 14.

P. 77, l. 4. *Be not too sensible* &c.] The Latin omits 'to suitors' and thus makes unexceptionable what appears in the English as a somewhat questionable rule. *Ne sis loci tui nimis memor aut crebram de eo mentionem facias in quotidianis sermonibus aut conversatione privata.*

Conf. King James' advice to his son in the Basilicon Doron, bk. ii: 'Remember also to put a difference between your forme of language in reasoning, and your pronouncing of sentences or declaration of your will in judgment or any other waies in the points of your office. . . . . The like forme would also be observed by all your inferiour Judges and Magistrates.'

XII.

OF BOLDNESS.

It is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes, *what was the chief part of an orator?* he answered, *Action:* what next?—*Action:* what next again?—*Action.* He said it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high above those other noble parts of invention, elocution, and the rest; nay almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise; and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken are most potent. Wonderful like is the case of boldness in civil business; what first? *boldness;* what second and third? *boldness:* and yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts: but, nevertheless, it doth fascinate, and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part; yea, and prevaileth with wise men at weak times. Therefore we see it hath done wonders in popular states, but with senates and princes less; and more ever upon the first entrance of bold persons into action than soon after; for boldness is an ill keeper of promise. Surely as there are mountebanks for the natural body, so are there mountebanks for the politic body; men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of science, and therefore cannot hold out. Nay, you shall see a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call a hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his prayers

for the observers of his law. The people assembled: Mahomet called the hill to come to him again and again; and when the hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, *If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill.* So these men, when they have promised great matters and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of boldness) they will but slight it over, and make a turn[a], and no more ado. Certainly, to men of great judgment, bold persons are a sport to behold; nay, and to the vulgar also boldness hath somewhat of the ridiculous; for if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is seldom without some absurdity. Especially it is a sport to see when a bold fellow is out of countenance, for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture, as needs it must; for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come; but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay[b]; like a stale at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir. But this last were fitter for a satire than for a serious observation. This is well to be weighed, that boldness is ever blind; for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences: therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution; so that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds and under the direction of others; for in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them except they be very great.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 81, l. 1. *It is*] For this use of the pronoun with its noun in a subsequent sentence, conf. 'It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter &c., &c.' in Essay 3.

[a] *make a turn*] i. e. take up a new position. Lat. *se vertent.*

[b] *they stand at a stay*] Lat. *audaces attoniti haerent.* The comparison which follows seems intended to illustrate the mental attitude of the man who has to make a move of some kind, but has no move which he can make, and whose face expresses his embarrassment.

l. 2. *Question was asked* &c.] Cicero relates this several times, and endorses and explains it at length. Plutarch also relates it in his Lives of the Ten Orators. Quintilian varies it by putting *pronuntiatio* instead of *actio*, but he extends *pronuntiatio* to include manner of delivery, just as Cicero extends *actio* to include *voice*. Conf. 'Actio, inquam, in dicendo una dominatur. Sine hac summus orator esse in numero nullo potest: mediocris, hac instructus, summos saepe superare. Huic primas dedisse Demosthenes dicitur, quum rogaretur, quid in dicendo esset primum; huic secundas; huic tertias.' De Oratore iii. 56, sec. 213. And, 'Sed quum haec magna in Antonio, tum actio singularis: quae si partienda sit in gestum atque vocem; gestus erat non verba exprimens sed cum sententiis congruens: manus, humeri, latera, supplosio pedis, status, incessus, omnisque motus cum verbis sententiisque consentiens; vox permanens, verum subrauca natura. Sed hoc vitium huic uni in bonum convertebat . . . Ut verum videretur in hoc illud quod Demosthenem ferunt ei, qui quaesivisset quid primum esset in dicendo, actionem; quid secundum, idem, et idem tertium respondisse. Nulla res magis penetrat in animos, eosque fingit, format, flectit: talesque oratores videri facit quales ipsi se videri volunt.' Brutus (De Claris Oratoribus) xxxviii. 141. And 'Quo modo autem dicatur, id est in duobus, in agendo et in eloquendo. Est enim actio quasi corporis quaedam eloquentia, quum constet e voce atque motu . . . . . ut jam non sine caussa Demosthenes tribuerit et primas, et secundas et tertias actioni. Si enim eloquentia nulla sine hac, haec autem sine eloquentia, tanta est, certe plurimum in dicendo potest.' Orator. xvii. 55, 56. Plutarch, in his Lives of the Ten Orators, writes: 'One day he chanced to be out and his memory to fail him, so that he was hissed at by the people in a great assembly of the City: . . . Eunomus the Thrasian, being now an ancient man, met with him, who cheered up Demosthenes and comforted him all he could; but most of all Andronicus the stage player; who said unto him: That his orations were as good as possibly might be, only he was wanting somewhat in action (Gk. *ὑπόκρισις*); and thereupon rehearsed certain places out of his oration, which he had delivered in that frequent assembly: unto whom Demosthenes gave good ear and credit, whereupon he betook himself unto Andronicus: insomuch as afterwards when he was demanded the question which was the first point of eloquence, he answered, Action; which the second, he made answer, Action; and which was the third, he said, Action, still.' Morals, p. 764. Conf. also '*Pronuntiatio* a plerisque *actio* dicitur, sed prius nomen a voce, sequens a gestu videtur accipere; namque *actionem* Cicero alias *quasi sermonem*, alias *eloquentiam quamdam corporis* dicit: idem tamen duas ejus partes facit quae sunt eaedem pronuntiationis, vocem atque motum: quapropter utraque appellatione indifferenter uti licet. Habet

autem res ipsa miram quamdam in orationibus vim ac potestatem: neque tam refert qualia sint quae intra nosmet ipsos composuimus quam quo modo efferantur .... Equidem vel moderatam orationem, commendatam viribus actionis, affirmaverim plus habituram esse momenti, quam optimam eadem illa destitutam, siquidem et Demosthenes *quid esset in toto genere dicendi primum*, interrogatus *pronuntiationi* palmam dedit, eidemque *secundum* ac *tertium* locum, donec ab eo quaeri desineret: ut eam videri posset non praecipuam sed solam judicasse.' Quintilian, Instit. Orat. lib. xi. 3.

l. 5. *had by nature* &c.] Conf. 'At the first, beginning to practise Oratory .... he had a very soft voice, an impediment in his tongue, and had also a short breath, the which made that men could not well understand what he meant, for his long periods in his oration were oftentimes interrupted, before he was at the end of his sentence.' Plutarch's Lives (North's trans.), p. 847. 'For his bodily defects of nature ... he did helpe them by these meanes. First touching the stammering of his toung, which was very fat, and made him that he could not pronounce all syllables distinctly: he did helpe it by putting of little pibble stones into his mouth, which he found upon the sands by the river's side, and so pronounced with open mouth the orations he had without booke. And for his small and soft voice, he made that louder by running up steepe and high hils, uttering even with full breath some orations or verses that he had without booke. And further it is reported of him, that he had a great looking-glasse in his house, and ever standing on his feet before it, he would learne and exercise himselfe to pronounce his orations.' p. 849.

l. 10. *But the reason is plain* &c.] Aristotle remarks on the subject very much as Bacon does. *Τρίτον δὲ τούτων, (περὶ τῆς λέξεως) ὃ δύναμιν μὲν ἔχει μεγίστην, οὔπω δ' ἐπικεχείρηται, τὰ περὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν .... Δῆλον οὖν ὅτι καὶ περὶ τὴν ῥητορικὴν ἐστι τὸ τοιοῦτον ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τὴν ποιητικήν .... Ἔστι δὲ αὐτὴ μὲν ἐν τῇ φωνῇ, πῶς αὐτῇ δεῖ χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἕκαστον πάθος .... Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἆθλα σχεδὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων οὗτοι λαμβάνουσιν, καὶ καθάπερ ἐκεῖ μεῖζον δύνανται νῦν τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ὑποκριταί, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἀγῶνας διὰ τὴν μοχθηρίαν τῶν πολιτειῶν .... καὶ δοκεῖ φορτικὸν εἶναι, καλῶς ὑπολαμβανόμενον .... ἀλλ' ὅμως μέγα δύναται, καθάπερ εἴρηται, διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ μοχθηρίαν .... Καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων τοὺς τοιούτους οἴονται διαλέγεσθαι κάλλιστα. Τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἔστιν.* Rhet. lib. iii. cap. 1.

l. 15. *what first? boldness* &c.] The reader will be reminded of Danton's well-known words, 'Il nous faut de l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace.' See close of Danton's speech to the Assembly in Sept. 1792. Louis Blanc, Histoire de la Révolution Française, vol. 7, p. 148.

l. 17. *it doth fascinate* &c.] Conf. 'De Aug. Scient. Dici possit de jactantia (nisi plane deformis fuerit et ridicula), Audacter te vendita, semper aliquid haeret. Haerebit certe apud populum, licet pru-

dentiores subrideant. Itaque existimatio parta apud plurimos paucorum fastidium abunde compensabit.' Works, i. 780.

l. 21. *wonders in popular states*] So Aristagoras of Miletus failed to persuade Cleomenes to attack Persia and give aid to the Ionian revolt; but when he came to Athens he carried the people with him by his boundless promises and assurances of easy success. *Πολλοὺς γὰρ οἷκε εἶναι εὐπετέστερον διαβάλλειν ἢ ἕνα, εἰ Κλεομένεα μὲν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον μοῦνον οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγένετο διαβάλλειν, τρεῖς δὲ μυριάδας Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησε τοῦτο.* Herod. v. cap. 97.

P. 82, l. 16. *the spirits do a little come and go*] For Bacon's theory about the spirits as physical entities, vide note on Essay 9.

l. 20. *boldness is ever blind*] Conf. 'There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy: for no man will take that part except he be like a seeled dove, that mounts and mounts because he cannot see about him.' Essay 36.

XIII.

OF GOODNESS, AND GOODNESS OF NATURE.

I TAKE goodness in this sense, the affecting[a] of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call *philanthropia;* and the word humanity (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and goodness of nature the inclination. This, of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity: and without it man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue charity, and admits[b] no excess but error. The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall; the desire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall; but in charity there is no excess, neither can

[a] *the affecting*] i. e. the having a love for. Conf. 'Use also such men as affect the business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much.' Essay 47.

[b] *admits no excess but error*] The Latin avoids the verbal ambiguity of the English. *Neque excessum quidem capit, aberrationem autem patitur.*

angel or man come in danger by it. The inclination to goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; insomuch that if it issue not towards men it will take unto other living creatures; as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to beasts, and give alms to dogs and birds; insomuch as[c], Busbechius reporteth, a Christian boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned for gagging in a waggishness a long-billed fowl. Errors, indeed, in this virtue of goodness or charity may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb, *Tanto buon che val niente: So good, that he is good for nothing:* and one of the doctors of Italy, Nicholas Macciavel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms, *That the Christian faith had given up good men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust;* which he spake because, indeed, there was never law or sect or opinion did so much magnify goodness as the Christian religion doth. Therefore, to avoid the scandal and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of an habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but facility or softness, which taketh an honest mind prisoner. Neither give thou Aesop's cock a gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had had a barley-corn. The example of God teacheth the lesson truly; *He sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine upon the just and unjust;* but he doth not rain wealth, nor shine honour and virtues upon men equally. Common benefits are to be communicate with all, but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware[d] how in making the portraiture thou breakest the pattern; for divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern; the

[c] *as*] = that.

[d] *And beware how* &c.] i. e. Do not so show love to a neighbour as to put out of office that self-love, of which love to a neighbour should be the copy or portraiture. The Latin gives, very clearly, *Cave autem ne, dum effigiem sculpas, archetypum destruas.*

love of our neighbours but the portraiture. *Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow me:* but sell not all thou hast except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a vocation wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great, for otherwise, in feeding the streams, thou driest the fountain. Neither is there only a habit of goodness directed by right reason; but there is in some men, even in nature, a disposition towards it; as, on the other side, there is a natural malignity: for there be that in their nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to a crossness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficileness, or the like; but the deeper sort to envy and mere mischief. Such men in other men's calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading part[e]: not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores, but like flies that are still buzzing upon anything that is raw; misanthropi, that make it their practice to bring men to the bough[f], and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon had. Such dispositions are the very errors of human nature, and yet they are the fittest timber to make great politics[g] of; like to knee[h] timber, that is good for ships that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building houses that

[e] *on the loading part*] i. e. they ever take the side which loads or presses and so adds to the weight of a calamity. Lat. *easque* (*sc. calamitates*) *semper aggravant.* So Bacon defends a proposed amendment of the law on the ground that 'it is on the favourable part, for it easeth, it presseth not.' Letters and Life, vi. 66. For loading, conf.

'Tis a cruelty
To load a falling man.'
King Henry VIII, act v. sc. 2.

[f] *to the bough*] Lat. *ad suspendii ramum.* So Blackstone states among the distinguishing points of the tenure in gavelkind that 'the estate does not escheat in case of an attainder and execution for felony: their maxim being "the father to the bough, the son to the plough."' Commentaries, bk. ii. ch. 6.

[g] *great politics*] i. e. great politicians. So *passim.*

[h] *knee timber*] 'A knee is a piece of timber growing crooked, and so cut that the trunk and branch make an angle.' Quoted in Johnson's Dictionary from Moxon's Mechanical Exercises. Lat. *similia lignis incurvis.* Fr. *le bois courbé.*

shall stand firm. The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shows he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them. If he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shows that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm. If he easily pardons and remits offences, it shows that his mind is planted above injuries[i], so that he cannot be shot. If he be thankful for small benefits, it shows that he weighs men's minds and not their trash[k]. But above all, if he have St. Paul's perfection, that he would wish to be an anathema from Christ for the salvation of his brethren, it shows much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Christ himself.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 85, l. 4. *habit—inclination*] This is a special instance of the wider Aristotelian distinction between *φυσικὴ ἀρετή* and *ἠθικὴ ἀρετή* or *ἀρετὴ κυρίως*. Conf. *Πᾶσι γὰρ δοκεῖ ἕκαστα τῶν ἠθῶν ὑπάρχειν φύσει πως· καὶ γὰρ δίκαιοι καὶ σωφρονικοὶ καὶ ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ τἆλλα ἔχομεν εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετῆς· . . . . Ἡ δ' ἕξις ὁμοία οὖσα τότ' ἔσται κυρίως ἀρετή κ.τ.λ.* Eth. Nicom. vi. 13.

l. 10. *The desire of power* &c.] Conf. note on Essay 3, pp. 30 & 31.

P. 86, l. 4. *the Turks* &c.] Busbequius (a scholar and diplomatist of the sixteenth century) gives various instances of the kindness of the Turks to animals. They make pets of their horses: they do not exactly give alms to dogs, as Bacon says, but they collect heaps of garbage for them to eat: they resent all cruelty to animals of all sorts. He tells a story of a cat settling itself to sleep on the sleeve of Mahomet's dress. When the time came for public prayers, Mahomet cut off his sleeve so as not to disturb the cat. When Busbec taxed them with being kinder to animals than to men, the answer was, 'concessam homini a Deo rationem, egregium ad omnia instrumentum,

[i] *above injuries* &c.] Lat. *supra injurarum jactum et tela.*

[k] *trash*] used, contemptuously, for goods or money. Lat. *sarcinas.* Conf.

'I had rather coin my heart
And drop my blood for drachmas than to wring
From the hard hands of peasants their vile trash
By any indirection.'
Julius Cæsar, act iv. sc. 3.

qua tamen ille abutatur, sic ut nihil ei cadat incommodi quod non sua culpa contraxerit; idcirco minore misericordia dignum. At brutis nihil a Deo tributum praeter quosdam motus et appetitus naturales, quos non sequi non possint: ideoque humana ope et commiseratione sublevandos.' Bacon's story from Busbequius is given incorrectly in several points. The offender was not a Christian boy but aurifex Venetus: that he had like to have been stoned is Bacon's gloss: finally the bird was not a long-billed fowl, but a short-billed fowl with a prodigiously wide gape. The goldsmith, Busbequius says, had caught a bird 'coccygis magnitudine atque ejusdem ferè coloris, non magno quidem rostro sed faucibus ita vastis et patentibus ut cum diducerentur prodigiosè hiarent..... Avem januae suae supero limini passis alis affigit, faucibus ita bacillo deductis ut immensum hiarent. . . . . Turcae consistebant suspiciebantque, sed ubi moveri avem et vivere animadverterent, in miserationem versi, clamant indignum facinus innocentem avem sic discruciari, aurificem domo evocant, arreptumque obtorto collo trahunt ad judicem rerum capitalium; jamque in eo res erat ut malè verberibus acciperetur, cum a Bailo Veneto ..... quidam intervenit qui hominem repeteret, quem a benevolo et favente judice, tamen prementibus reliquis Turcis, vix impetrat.' Busbequius had the story from the man himself, and saw the bird. He thought it a caprimulgus, or goat-sucker. Conf. Legationis Turcicae Epistolae, Ep. iii.

The Latin version of the Essays avoids most of the inaccuracies of the English: *Adeo ut (referente Busbequio) aurifex quidam Venetus, Byzantii agens, vix furorem populi effugerit, quod avis cujusdam, rostri oblongi, fauces inserto baculo diduxisset.*

l. 9. *Errors, indeed*] So Aristotle, in the passage referred to above, says of the φυσικαὶ ἀρεταί: Ὥσπερ σώματι ἰσχυρῷ ἄνευ ὄψεως κινουμένῳ συμβαίνει σφάλλεσθαι ἰσχυρῶς διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ὄψιν, οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα. Eth. Nicom. vi. 13.

l. 12. *one of the doctors of Italy*] The Latin omits these words. The Italian gives in their place, *quel empio Niccolò Machievello.* The reference is to the Discourses on Livy. 'La religione nostra ha glorificato più gli uomini umili e contemplativi, che gli attivi. Ha dipoi posto il sommo bene nella umiltà, nell' abiezione, e nel dispregio delle cose umane; . . . . . E se la Religione nostra richiede che abbia in te fortezza, vuole che tu sia atto a patire più che a fare una cosa forte. Questo modo di vivere adunque pare ch' abbia renduto il mondo debole, e datolo in preda agli uomini scellerati, i quali sicuramente lo possono maneggiare, veggendo come l'universalità degli uomini per andare in Paradiso pensa più a sopportar le sue battiture, che a vendicarle.' Lib. ii. cap. 2.

The passage, it will be seen, does not bear out Bacon's remarks upon it. Machiavelli speaks of Christianity, not as magnifying good-

ness, but as making men indifferent to worldly affairs by proposing other objects as more deserving regard. Christianity, he says further, is not to be held accountable for this—'nasce senza dubbio dalla viltà degli uomini, che hanno interpretato la nostra Religione secondo l'ozio e non secondo la virtù.'

l. 26. *He sendeth his rain*] Matthew v. 5.

P. 87, l. 1. *Sell all thou hast*] Mark x. 21.

l. 2. *sell not all* &c.] This rule seems to have been suggested by a passage of Thomas Aquinas: 'Ad primum ergo dicendum quod in illis verbis Domini aliquid ponitur quasi via ad perfectionem; hoc scilicet quod dicitur, *Vade, vende omnia quae habes et da pauperibus;* aliquid autem subditur in quo perfectio consistit, scilicet quod dicit, *et sequere me.* . . . . Ex ipso modo loquendi apparet quod consilia sunt quaedam instrumenta perveniendi ad perfectionem, dum dicitur, *si vis perfectus esse, vade vende* &c. quasi dicat, hoc faciendo ad hunc finem pervenies.' Aquinas, in the same Article, lays down that the counsels of highest perfection are not obligatory on all men. Vide Summ. Theolog. Secunda Secundae, Quaest. 184, Art. iii.

l. 7. *Neither is there only* &c.] This is distinctly Aristotelian. Conf. *Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἠθικοῦ δύο ἐστὶ (εἴδη), τὸ μὲν ἀρετὴ φυσική, τὸ δ' ἡ κυρία, καὶ τούτων ἡ κυρία οὐ γίνεται ἄνευ φρονήσεως . . . . Ὀρθὸς δὲ λόγος περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἡ φρόνησίς ἐστιν.* Eth. Nicom. vi. 13.

l. 19. *yet have never a tree*] Conf. 'It is reported of him also, that this Timon on a time (the people being assembled in the market-place about despatch of some affaires) got up into the pulpit for Orations, where the Oratours commonly use to speake unto the people: and silence being made, every man listening to heare what he would say, because it was a wonder to see him in that place; at length he began to speake in this manner: My Lords of Athens, I have a little yard at my house where there groweth a figge tree, on the which many citizens have hanged themselves; and because I mean to make some building on the place, I thought good to let you all understand it, that before the figge tree be cut downe, if any of you be desperate, you may there in time go hang yourselves.' North's Plutarch, p. 943.

l. 22. *great politics*] That political life and rascality were not easily to be separated, was with Bacon an article of faith as well as of practice. Conf., e. g., 'There is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts.' Essay 14.

P. 88, l. 6. *like the noble tree*] Conf. 'They used in old time to gather the Incense but once a yeare; but now, since every man calleth for it, they feeling the sweetnesse of the gaine, make a double vintage (as it were) of it in one yeare. The first, and indeed the kindly season, falleth about the hottest daies of the Summer, at what time as the Dog daies begin; for then they cut the Tree where they see the

barke to be fullest of liquor, and whereas they perceive it to be thinnest and strut out most. They make a gash or slit onely to give more libertie: but nothing do they pare or cut cleane away. The wound or incision is no sooner made, but out there gusheth a fat fome or froth; this soon congealeth and groweth to be hard. That Incense which was let out in Summer, they leave there under the Tree untill the Autumne, and then they come and gather it. And this is most pure, cleane, and white. A second Vintage or gathering there is in the Spring: against which time they cut the bark before in the Winter, and suffer it to run out untill the Spring. This cometh forth red, and is nothing comparable to the former.' Pliny, Nat. Hist., bk. xii. cap. 14 (Holland's Trans.).

l. 12. *to be an anathema*] Vide Romans ix. 3, 'For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh.' The original is *ἀνάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. The Vulgate gives 'Optabam enim ego ipse anathema esse a Christo pro meis fratribus,' &c.

Conf. Advancement of Learning, 'We read that the elected saints of God have wished themselves anathematized and razed out of the book of life, in an ecstacy of charity and infinite feeling of communion.' Works, iii. p. 421.

XIV.

OF NOBILITY.

We will speak of nobility first as a portion of an estate[a]; then as a condition of particular persons. A monarchy, where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks; for nobility attempers sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal. But for democracies, they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet and less subject to sedition than where there

[a] *estate*] here, as *passim*, state. Lat. *reipublicae*.

are stirps[b] of nobles; for men's eyes[c] are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or if upon the persons, it is for the business sake, as fittest, and not for flags[d] and pedigree. We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of cantons; for utility is their bond, and not respects[e]. The united provinces of the Low Countries in their government excel; for where there is an equality the consultations are more[f] indifferent, and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power; and putteth life and spirit into the people, but presseth[g] their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for sovereignty nor for justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the insolency of inferiors may be broken upon them before it come on too fast[h] upon the majesty of kings. A numerous nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a state, for it is a surcharge of expence; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means.

As for nobility in particular persons; it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber-tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood

[b] *stirps*] i. e. stock; a Latinism. Properly, the roots and lower part of the trunk of a tree. Bacon uses the word several times elsewhere; e. g. 'He was a Jew and circumcised; for they have some few stirps of Jews yet remaining among them.' Works, iii. 151.

[c] *for men's eyes* &c.] This refers, not to the clause immediately preceding it, but to the clause before that. It introduces a reason why democracies do not need a nobility.

[d] *flags*] Lat. *insignia.*

[e] *respects*] i. e. regard for rank. Lat. *utilitas enim apud eos valet non dignitas.*

[f] *more indifferent*] i. e. with less respect of persons. Lat. *consilia ineuntur aequabilius.*

[g] *presseth*] i. e. depresseth. Lat. *deprimit.*

[h] *too fast*] i. e. too close. So, fast by is commonly used as = close by. The Latin does not translate literally enough to be of help. The Italian gives—*—prima che venga troppo oltre a toccare la Maesta de i Ré.*'

against the waves and weathers of time: for new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous[i] but less innocent than their descendants; for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts; but it is reason[k] the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is; besides, noble persons cannot go much higher; and he that standeth at a stay[l] when others rise can hardly avoid motions of envy. On the other side, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy[m] from others towards them, because they are in possession[n] of honour. Certainly, kings that have able men of their nobility shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into[o] their business; for people naturally bend to them as born in some sort to command.

[i] *more virtuous*] i. e. more possessed of great qualities of some kind. For this sense of *virtue* as distinct from moral excellence, conf. Essay 43, where Edward IV, Alcibiades and Ismael Sophy are instanced as persons in whom beauty and virtue were combined.

[k] *but it is reason* &c.] i.e. it is reasonable that it should remain, &c. Lat. *aequum vero est ut virtutum suarum memoria usque ad posteros permaneat.*

[l] *standeth at a stay*] Lat. *in eodem loco haeret.* Conf. Bacon's letter to Coke: 'I am one that knows both mine own wants and other men's; and it may be perchance, that mine mend and others stand at a stay.' Letters and Life, iii. p. 4.

[m] *passive envy*] Introduced in contrast to the 'motions of envy,' just above. It adds nothing to the sense, which is sufficiently marked by the words which immediately follow. Envy is, of course, active or passive, according as we look at the man who feels it, or at the man towards whom it is felt.

[n] *in possession*] The Latin makes the sense clear—*quod nobiles in honorum possessione nati videntur.*

[o] *slide into*] The edition of 1612 gives 'a better slide in their business.' The Latin follows thus—*negotia sua mollius fluere sentient.* The later text, if it has a meaning distinct from that of the earlier text, seems to mean that Kings that have able nobles will get more easily into the heart of their business. For slide, in the sense of easy movement, conf. 'Certainly there be, whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide and easiness more than the verses of other poets.' Essay 40.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 92, l. 6. *The united provinces of the Low Countries* &c.] Conf. 'For the manner of their Government: They have upon occasion an assembly of the generall States, like our Parliament.... There is besides a Counsell of State.... And besides both these, every Province and great Towne have particular counsells of their own. To all which assemblies, as well of the generall States as the rest, the Gentrie is called for order sake, but the State indeed is democraticall..... Neither are the Gentrie so much engaged in the cause, the people having more advantage in a free State, they in a monarchy. Their care in government is very exact and particular, by reason that every one hath an immediate interest in the State: such is the equality of justice that it renders every man satisfied,' &c. Overbury, Obs. on the Seventeen Provinces, &c., pp. 3, 4 (ed. 1626).

l. 9. *and the payments* &c.] Conf. 'Taxes, levied by consent of the estate, do abate men's courage less; as it hath been seen notably in the excises of the Low Countries.' Essay 29, and note on passage.

l. 11. *diminisheth power*] So Bacon notes in his Life of Henry VII: 'He kept a strait hand on his nobility, and chose rather to advance clergymen and lawyers, which were more obsequious to him, but had less interest in the people; which made for his absoluteness but not for his safety.' Works, vi. 242.

XV.

OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

Shepherds of people had need know the kalendars[a] of tempests in state, which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality; as natural tempests are greatest about the aequinoctia. And as there are certain hollow blasts of wind and secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in states:

Ille etiam caecos instare tumultus
Saepe monet, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella.

[a] *kalendars*] Lat. *prognostica.*

Libels and licentious discourses against the state, when they are frequent and open; and in like sort false news, often running up and down, to the disadvantage of the state, and hastily embraced, are amongst the signs of troubles. Virgil, giving the pedigree of Fame, saith *she was sister to the giants:*

> *Illam Terra parens, ira irritata Deorum,*
> *Extremam (ut perhibent) Coeo Enceladoque sororem*
> *Progenuit.*

As if fames were the relics of seditions past; but they are no less indeed the preludes of seditions to come. Howsoever he noteth it right, that seditious tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine; especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a state, and the most plausible[b], and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense and traduced: for that shows the envy great, as Tacitus saith, *Conflata magna invidia, seu bene seu male gesta premunt.* Neither doth it follow that because these fames are a sign of troubles, that the suppressing of them with too much severity should be a remedy of troubles; for the despising of them many times checks them best, and the going about to stop them doth but make a wonder long-lived. Also that kind of obedience which Tacitus speaketh of is to be held suspected: *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent imperantium mandata interpretari quam exsequi;* disputing, excusing, cavilling upon mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoke and assay of disobedience; especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly[c]; and those that are against it audaciously.

Also, as Machiavel noteth well; when princes, that

[b] *most plausible*] here used in the proper original sense = most deserving applause. Lat. *laudatissimae.*

[c] *tenderly*] i. e. weakly. Lat. (?) *molliuscule.* Conf. 'Pity which is the tenderest of affections.' Essay 2.

ought to be common parents, make themselves as a party and lean to a side, it is as a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side; as was well seen in the time of Henry the Third of France; for first, himself entered league for the extirpation of the Protestants, and presently after the same league was turned upon himself. For when the authority of princes is made but an accessary to a cause, and that there be[d] other bands that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin to be put almost out of possession.

Also, when discords and quarrels and factions are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of government is lost. For the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under primum mobile, (according to the old opinion), which is, that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion; and therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and as Tacitus expresseth it well, *liberius quam ut imperantium meminissent*, it is a sign the orbs are out[e] of frame: for reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God, who threateneth the dissolving thereof; *Solvam cingula regum.*

So when any of the four pillars of government are

[d] *and that there be* &c.] For this irregularity of construction—not unfrequent in Bacon's time—conf. 'Therefore if a state run most to noblemen and gentlemen, and that the husbandmen and ploughmen be but as their workfolks or labourers,' &c. Works, vi. 95. And, 'But when these virtues in the fathers and leaders of the church have lost their light, and that they wax worldly, lovers of themselves, and pleasers of men, then men begin to grope for the church as in the dark.' Letters and Life, i. 80.

[e] *out of frame*] i. e. disordered. Lat. *orbes perturbari manifestum est.* Conf. 'States as great engines, move slowly, and are not so soon put out of frame.' Works, iii. 445. And, 'For suerly suerly, but that ii thinges do comfort me, I wold despaire of the redresse in these matters. One is that the kinges maiestie whan he commeth to age, will see a redresse of these thinges so out of frame.' Latymer, 1st Sermon, p. 42 (Arber's reprints). And, 'No doubt you have a great stroke in the frame of this government, as the other (i.e. the planets) have in the great frame of the world,' Letters and Life, vi. 211.

mainly[f] shaken or weakened (which are religion, justice, counsel, and treasure), men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us pass from this part[g] of predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth), and let us speak first of the materials of seditions; then of the motives of them; and thirdly of the remedies.

Concerning the materials of seditions, it is a thing well to be considered; for the surest way to prevent seditions (if the times do bear it) is to take away the matter of them; for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds; much poverty and much discontentment. It is certain, so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles. Lucan noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war:

> *Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore foenus,*
> *Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum.*

This same *multis utile bellum* is an assured and infallible sign of a state disposed to seditions and troubles; and if this poverty and broken estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great: for the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame; and let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust? for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable, who do often spurn at their own good; nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small; for they are the most dangerous

[f] *mainly shaken*] i. e. very much. So in Essay 34: 'He cannot but increase mainly.' Lat. *non potest quin supra modum ditescat.*

[g] *this part of predictions*] i. e. this part of the subject, that namely which has to do with predictions. Lat. *mittamus haec prognostica.*

discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling: *Dolendi modus, timendi non item.* Besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience do withal mate[h] the courage; but in fears it is not so. Neither let any prince or state be secure[i] concerning discontentments, because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued: for as it is true that every vapour or fume doth not turn into a storm, so it is nevertheless true that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; and, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, *The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*

The causes and motives of seditions are, innovation in religion; taxes; alteration of laws and customs; breaking of privileges; general oppression; advancement of unworthy persons; strangers; dearths; disbanded soldiers; factions grown desperate; and whatsoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the remedies, there may be some general preservatives, whereof we will speak: as for the just[k] cure, it must answer to the particular disease; and so be left to counsel rather than rule.

The first remedy or prevention is to remove, by all means possible, that material cause of sedition whereof we spake, which is, want and poverty in the estate: to which purpose serveth the opening and well-balancing of trade; the cherishing of manufactures; the banishing of idleness; the repressing of waste and excess by sumptuary laws; the improvement and husbanding of the soil; the regulating of prices of things vendible; the moderating of taxes and tributes; and the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen[l] that the population of a kingdom

[h] *mate*] i. e. beat down. Lat. *animos frangunt.*

[i] *secure*] i. e. without care. Vide note on Essay 5, p. 37.

[k] *just cure*] i. e. the exact, the proper cure. Lat. *legitima.* The Italian omits the word.

[l] *to be foreseen*] Lat. *praecavendum est.*

(especially if it be not mown down by wars) do not exceed the stock[m] of the kingdom which should maintain them. Neither is the population to be reckoned only by number; for a smaller number, that spend more and earn less, do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that live lower and gather more. Therefore the multiplying of nobility, and other degrees of quality, in an over proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a state to necessity; and so doth likewise an overgrown clergy, for they bring nothing to the stock; and, in like manner, when more are bred scholars than preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered that, forasmuch as the increase of any estate must be upon[n] the foreigner (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost), there be but three things which one nation selleth upon another; the commodity, as nature yieldeth it; the manufacture; and the vecture, or carriage; so that if these three wheels go, wealth will flow as in a spring tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that *materiam superabit opus*, that the work and carriage is more worth than the material, and enricheth a state more: as is notably seen in the Low Countrymen, who have the best mines above ground in the world.

Above all things, good policy is to be used that the treasure and moneys in a state be not gathered into few hands; for, otherwise, a state may have a great stock, and yet starve: and money is like muck, not good except it be

[m] *stock*] i. e. the available wealth. Lat. *proventus*. Conf. 'The treasure of gold and silver brought into the realm hath been by sundry Acts of Parliament ordained to be as an immoveable and perpetual stock, which should never go forth againe.' Royal Proclamation, 1614, quoted in Lord Liverpool on Coins, p. 59 (ed. 1st, 4to.).

[n] *upon*] i. e. at the expense of. Conf. 'They should, being divided, prove unable to resist him who had won so far upon them when they held together.' Ralegh, Hist. of World, iii, chap. 6, sec. 6. And, 'Besides these victories they sacked and spoiled many places upon the sea-coast of Peloponnesus, won upon the Corinthians, and overthrew the Sicyonians that came to their succour.' Bk. iii, chap. 7, sec. 6.

spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or at least keeping a strait hand upon the devouring trades of usury, ingrossing [o], great pasturages, and the like.

For removing discontentments, or at least the danger of them, there is in every state (as we know) two portions of subjects, the noblesse and the commonalty. When one of these is discontent, the danger is not great; for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves: then is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The poets feign that the rest of the gods would have bound Jupiter; which he hearing of, by the counsel of Pallas sent for Briareus, with his hundred hands, to come in to his aid: an emblem, no doubt, to show how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the good-will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or bravery [p]), is a safe way: for he that turneth the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious imposthumations.

The part of Epimetheus might well become Prometheus in the case of discontentments, for there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly, the politic and artificial [q] nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and

[o] *ingrossing*] 'Ingrosser signifieth in the common law one that buyeth corn growing or dead victual to sell again.' Cowell, Interpreter, *sub voce*. The Latin gives the more general *monopoliorum*.

[p] *bravery*] Lat. *audacia*.

[q] *artificial*] i. e. skilful or artful. Conf. 'He most wondered at the infinite number of lights and torches . . . so artificially set and ordered by devices, some round, some square, that it was the rarest thing to behold that eye could discern.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 923. And, 'So artificially did this young Italian behave herself, that she de-

carrying men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments: and it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding, when it can hold men's hearts by hopes when it cannot by satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such manner as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some outlet of hope; which is the less hard to do, because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave[r] that which they believe not.

Also the foresight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head to be one that hath greatness and reputation, that hath confidence with the discontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes, and that is thought discontented in his own particular[s]: which kind of persons are either to be won and reconciled to the state, and that in a fast and true manner; or to be fronted with some other of the same party that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally, the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the state, and setting them at distance, or at least distrust amongst themselves is not one of the worst remedies; for it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the state be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united.

ceived even the eldest and most jealous persons, both in the court and country.' Burnet, Hist. of His Own Time, vol. i, p. 244 (ed. of 1840; 2 vols.).

[r] *to brave*] Lat. *ostentare in gloriam suam.*

[s] *in his own particular*] Lat. *in suis rebus privatis.* A common phrase. Conf. 'When men fall to framing conclusions out of their knowledge, applying it to their particular, and ministering to themselves thereby weak fears or vain desires, there groweth that carefulness and trouble of mind which is spoken of.' Works, iii. 266. 'My second suit is that your Majesty would not think me so pusillanimous as that I . . . should now fear him or take umbrage of him in respect of mine own particular.' Letters and Life, vi. 232.

I have noted that some wit[t]y and sharp speeches which have fallen from princes have given fire to seditions. Caesar did himself infinite hurt in that speech, *Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare;* for it did utterly cut off that hope which men had entertained that he would at one time or other give over his dictatorship. Galba undid himself by that speech, *Legi a se militem, non emi;* for it put the soldiers out of hope of the donative. Probus likewise by that speech, *Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano imperio militibus;* a speech of great despair for the soldiers; and many the like. Surely princes had need in tender[u] matters and ticklish times to beware what they say, especially in these short speeches which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret intentions; for as for large discourses, they are flat things and not so much noted.

Lastly, let princes, against all events, not be without some great person, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings; for without that, there useth to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of troubles than were fit; and the state runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith; *Atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.* But let such military persons be assured[x], and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular;

[t] *witty*] Lat. *ingeniosa.* This comes more near than usually to the modern sense of the word. 'The present meaning of wit' (says Trench in his Select Glossary, *sub voce*) 'as compared with the past, and the period when it was in the act of transition from the one to the other, cannot be better marked than in the quotation from Bishop Reynolds. . . . "I take not wit in that common acceptation, whereby men understand some sudden flashes of conceit whether in style or conference. . . . But I understand a settled, constant, and habitual sufficiency of the understanding, whereby it is enabled in any kind of learning, theory, or practice, both to sharpness in search, subtilty in expression and despatch in execution."' Passions and Faculties of the Soul, c. 39.

[u] *tender matters*] i. e. matters that need to be handled with care and tact. Conf. 'Things that are tender and unpleasing.' Essay 22.

[x] *assured*] Lat. *fidi omnino esse debent.*

holding also good correspondence with the other great men in the state, or else the remedy is worse than the disease.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 94, l. 2. *when things grow to equality*] i. e. when the distinction between rulers and subjects tends to be lost.

l. 7. *Ille etiam* &c.] Georgics, i. 464.

P. 95, l. 1. *Libels*] Lat. *famosi libelli.* Bacon elsewhere, and I think always, uses 'libels' in the sense of *defamatory* writings. This is an added sense which the word, in his day, did not necessarily bear. On the significance of libels, whether defamatory or not, vide Selden's Table Talk, *sub voce*: 'Though some make slight of Libels, yet you may see by them how the Wind sits: As take a Straw and throw it up into the Air, you shall see by that which way the Wind is, which you shall not do by casting up a Stone. More solid Things do not shew the Complexion of the times so well as Ballads and Libels.'

l. 7. *Illam Terra* &c.] Virg. Aen. iv. 178. Conf. 'They do recount that the Earth, mother of the giants that made war against Jupiter and were by him destroyed, thereupon in anger brought forth Fame; for certain it is that rebels, figured by the giants, and seditious fames and libels, are but brothers and sisters, masculine and feminine.' Fragment of an Essay on Fame.

The lines from Virgil are quoted, with like comments, in the Advancement of Learning, Works, iii. 344-5; and the whole story is related and explained in the De Sapientia Veterum, sec. ix. Works, vi. 645.

l. 13. *differ no more but as brother and sister*] This fancy is repeated in the History of Henry VII, where Bacon speaks of 'swarms and vollies of libels which are the gusts of liberty of speech restrained, and the females of sedition.' Works, vi. 153.

l. 17. *as Tacitus saith*] The words are: 'Inviso semel principe, seu bene seu male facta premunt.' Hist. i, cap. 7.

l. 24. *which Tacitus speaketh of*] 'Miles alacer; qui tamen jussa ducum interpretari quam exsequi mallet.' Hist. ii. 39.

l. 32. *As Machiavel* &c.] I find a suggestion in Notes and Queries that this probably refers to the Discourses on Livy, bk. iii, cap. 27. This chapter treats of the mischief resulting from factions, and of the right and wrong methods of dealing with them. It says *inter alia*, that if a Republic has under its government a city divided into factions, each faction will seek to gain favour, and that 'two

very great inconveniences arise thereupon: the one is that thou canst never make them thy friends, because thou canst not well govern them, the rule ofttimes varying sometimes with the one humour, sometimes with the other: the other is that that favouring of sides must needs divide thy Republic,' and it tells a story of an emissary of the French king, who said 'that if in France one of the King's subjects should say hee were of the King's party, he would bee punished: because such a speech could signifie no lesse than that there in the Countrie were enemies to the French King.' Dacre's Trans. This is not a satisfactory reference, but I can find nothing in Machiavelli nearer to Bacon's words. The Italian version of the Essays omits the name of Machiavelli, and gives only 'come ben osserva un scrittore.' This opens a tolerably wide field. There is an approach to Bacon's metaphor in Guicciardini, who speaks of the policy of Lorenzo de' Medici as preserving the peace of Italy, and says that he 'procurava con ogni studio che le cose d' Italia in modo balanciate si mantenessero, che più in una che in un' altra parte non pendessero.' Storia d' Italia, vol. i, p. 5 (ed. 1821).

The advice in the text is repeated and the same reasons are given for it in Essay 51: 'Kings had need beware how they side themselves and make themselves as of a faction or party,' &c., &c.

P. 96, l. 4. *Henry III—entered league* &c.] This was the League of the Holy Trinity, formed under the influence of the house of Guise, for the defence of the Catholic faith, and to crush the Protestants, but with the ulterior design of putting its leader, Henry de Guise, on the throne. Henry III pursued no settled policy towards it or towards its avowed objects. Early in his reign, in 1576, he gave it his support for a time. In 1585, when it had meanwhile been following its independent course, with the king or against him, and when it had risen steadily in importance and in material power, Henry endeavoured again to come to terms with it, and by the Treaty of Nemours made a virtual surrender to it while he put himself nominally at its head. In 1588, finding himself threatened and defied by the still growing power of Henry de Guise, he caused him and his brother to be assassinated, and by this act provoked the more open hostility of the faction, with which he continued at actual war during the short remainder of his reign.

l. 14. *ought to be as the motions of the planets* &c.] A favourite illustration with Bacon. Conf. 'The motions of factions under kings ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak) of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of primum mobile.' Essay 51 (end). 'Superstition hath been the confusion of many states and bringeth in a new primum mobile that ravisheth all the spheres of government.' Essay 17. And again, in his Speech to the Judges before the

Circuit: 'First, you that are the Judges of Circuits, are as it were the planets of the kingdom .... Do therefore as they do; move always and be carried with the motion of your first mover, which is your Sovereign.' Letters and Life, vi. 211.

For an account of the theory, vide Blundevile's Exercises, First Book of the Spheare, chap. vi.

Of the tenth Spheare or heaven, called in Latin, Primum Mobile: 'This heaven .... continually moveth with an equal gate from East to West, making his revolution in 24 houres; which kind of moving is otherwise called the diurnall or daily moving, and by reason of the swiftnes thereof it violently carrieth and turneth about all the other heavens that are beneath it from East to West in the selfe same space of 24 houres whether they will or not, so as they are forced to make their own proper revolutions which is contrarie from West to East, every one in longer or shorter time according as they be farre or neare placed to the same.'

l. 19. *as Tacitus expresseth it well*] The words are: 'Promptius apertiusque quam ut meminisse imperantium crederes.' Annals, iii. 4.

l. 23. *Solvam cingula regum*] These words, which do not occur anywhere, seem to have been made up from two passages. In Job xii. 18 it is said of the Almighty that 'Balteum regum dissolvit, et praecingit fune renes eorum,' but the words convey no threat. In Isaiah xlv. 1 there is a promise to Cyrus, implying a threat to his opponents: 'Haec dicit Dominus christo meo Cyro, cujus apprehendi dexteram, et subjiciam ante faciem ejus gentes, et dorsa regum vertam.'

P. 97, l. 6. *materials of seditions, then of the motives of them*] In p. 98, line 24 Bacon speaks of the 'material cause of sedition.' In p. 98, line 13 he says, 'The causes and motives of sedition are' &c. It is clear, therefore, that he has in his mind here the Aristotelian fourfold division of causes, and that he is referring to two of them—to the material cause and to the efficient cause,—the material cause being the state of things out of which seditions are apt to arise, the motive or efficient cause being that which provokes them into existence. Conf. Nov. Org. bk. ii, sec. 2, 'Etiam non male constituuntur causae quatuor; Materia, Forma, Efficiens, et Finis.' Works, i. p. 228.

For the Aristotelian division, vide Posterior Analytics ii. 11, sec. 1, *Αἰτίαι δὲ τέτταρες, μία μὲν τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, μία δὲ τὸ τίνων ὄντων ἀνάγκη τοῦτ' εἶναι, ἑτέρα δὲ ἥ τι πρῶτον ἐκίνησε, τετάρτη δὲ τὸ τίνος ἕνεκα*: and Metaph. iv. 2. 1.

l. 17. *Hinc usura* &c.] Lucan i. 181. The reading should be *avidum*, where Bacon gives *rapidum*. The quotation is otherwise correct.

l. 23. *rebellions of the belly*] Lat. *quae a ventre ortum habent.*

P. 98, l. 2. *Dolendi modus* &c.] 'Paulum differt patiaris adversa an

exspectes: nisi quod tamen est dolendi modus, non est timendi. Doleas enim quantum scias accidisse, timeas quantum possit accidere.' Pliny, Epist. viii. 17, written, however, not about political discontentments or oppressions, but about an inundation of the Tiber.

l. 26. *well balancing of trade*] This is a point on which Bacon frequently insists. He lays it down in his Advice to Villiers, and gives the reasons for it in accordance with what is known as the Mercantile Theory of Trade. Conf. 'Let the foundation of a profitable trade be thus laid, that the exportation of home commodities be more in value than the importation of foreign; so shall we be sure that the stocks of the kingdom shall yearly increase, for then the balance of trade must be returned in money or bullion.' Letters and Life, vi, p. 22, and again p. 49.

l. 27. *cherishing of manufactures* &c.] Bacon in his Life of Henry VII mentions with general approval the laws which were passed for these ends, e. g. 'Another statute was made prohibiting the bringing in of manufactures of silk wrought by itself or mixt with any other thrid .... This law pointed at a true principle: That where foreign materials are but superfluities, foreign manufactures should be prohibited. For that will either banish the superfluity, or gain the manufacture.' Works, vi. 223.

'There were also made good and politic laws that Parliament .... for the employment of the procedures of foreign commodities, brought in by merchant strangers, upon the native commodities of the realm.' vi. 87.

l. 30. *regulating of prices*] 'He made also statutes .... for stinting and limiting the prices of cloth: one for the finer and another for the coarser sort. Which I note, both because it was a rare thing to set prices by statute, especially upon our home commodities: and because of the wise model of this act; not prescribing prices, but stinting them not to exceed a rate: that the clothier might drape accordingly as he might afford.' Works, vi. 96.

Bacon finds especial fault with Henry VII for his exactions in not moderating taxes and tributes and the like; vi. 217, 218.

On 'the multiplying of nobility and other degrees of quality' conf. note on Essay 29, p. 213, and Works, vi. 94, 95.

P. 99, l. 11. *when more are bred scholars*] So, more at length in the Advice concerning Sutton's estate: 'Concerning the Advancement of Learning, I do subscribe to the opinion of one of the wisest and greatest men of your kingdom: That for grammar schools there are already too many, and therefore no providence to add where there is excess. For the great number of schools which are in your Highness realm, doth cause a want and doth cause likewise an overflow, both of them inconvenient and one of them dangerous.

For by means thereof they find want in the country and towns both of servants for husbandry and apprentices for trade: and on the other side there being more scholars bred than the state can prefer and employ, and the active part of that life not bearing a proportion to the preparative, it must needs fall out that many persons will be bred unfit for other vocations, and unprofitable for that in which they are brought up; which fills the realm full of indigent idle and wanton people, which are but *materia rerum novarum*.' Letters and Life, iv. 252.

l. 14. *whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost*] Conf. Τῆς δὲ μεταβλητικῆς ψεγομένης δικαίως, οὐ γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐστίν. Arist. Pol. i, cap. 5, sec. 4. 'Lucrum sine damno alterius fieri non potest.' Publius Syrus, Fragmenta, De rerum vicissitudine, l. 60.

So too Montaigne (Essays, bk. i, chap. 21) lays it down as a universal truth that 'il ne se faict aucun profit qu'au dommage d'aultruy.'

Bacon's statement is a legitimate inference from the mercantile theory. If wealth means gold and silver, a nation can become wealthy only at an exactly equivalent loss to all the rest of the world.

l. 19. *materiam superabit opus*] Adapted from Ovid, Metam., bk. ii. 5.

l. 22. *best mines above ground*] Conf. 'The Low Countries generally have three cities at least for one of ours, and those far more populous and rich. . . . Their chiefest loadstone, which draws all manner of commerce and merchandise, which maintains their present state, is not fertility of soil, but industry that enricheth them: the gold mines of Peru or Nova Hispania may not compare with them. They have neither gold nor silver of their own. . . . little or no wood, tin, lead, iron, silk, wool, any stuff at most or mettle, and yet Hungary Transilvania that brag of their mines, fertile England, cannot compare with them.' Burton, Anat. of Melancholy, vol. i, p. 77, ed. 1837. Bacon in his Advice to Villiers uses the same metaphor: 'In the next place, I beseech you to take into your serious consideration that Indian wealth, which this island and the seas thereof excel in, the hidden and rich treasure of fishing . . . . Half a day's sail with a good wind will shew the mineral and the miners.' Letters and Life, vi. p. 24.

l. 27. *money is like muck*] Conf. Apophthegms, 'Mr. Bettenham used to say; That riches were like muck; when it lay upon an heap it gave but a stench and ill odour; but when it was spread upon the ground then it was cause of much fruit.' Works, vii. 160.

P. 100, l. 2. *trades of usury*] Conf. 'The discommodities of usury are . . . that it bringeth the treasure of a realm or state into a few hands; for the usurer being at certainties and others at uncertainties, at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box; and ever a state flourisheth when wealth is more equally spread.' Essay 41.

l. 3. *ingrossing*] The Statute Book of the 16th century contains many prohibitive Acts against buying to resell. The largest of these, the Act of 5 & 6 Edward VI, c. 14, against 'regrators, forestallers and ingrossers,' continued and made perpetual by 13 Eliz. c. 25, ordains, *inter alia*, 'that whatsoever person shall ingross or get into his hands, by buying contracting or promise-taking, any corn or grain, butter, cheese, fish or other dead victuals whatsoever within the realm of England to the intent to sell the same again shall be accepted reputed and taken an unlawful ingrosser; and it makes him, and other like offenders, punishable with imprisonment and forfeiture; and for the third offence with forfeiture pillory and imprisonment during the King's pleasure.' This statute was in force in Bacon's day. It was modified from time to time, most notably by 15 Charles II, c. 7, sec. 4, but it was left in full force, even then, against 'forestallers,' i.e. resellers in the same market within three months after buying. It was finally repealed in 1772, with all other like statutes, by 12 George III, cap. 71. But in spite of this, forestalling, regrating and engrossing were held by some judicial authorities to be still offences at common law. M^cCulloch (Smith's Wealth of Nations, fourth edition, note to p. 237) says that as late as 1800 an indictment was laid against a corn merchant for having sold thirty quarters of oats in the same market and on the same day at an advance of two shillings a quarter. The man was tried, Lord Kenyon summed up strongly against him, and he was found guilty, but the judges doubted whether such a sale was really punishable, and he was never brought up for judgment.

l. 3. *great pasturages*] In 1597 'Mr. Bacon made a motion against depopulation of towns and houses of husbandry, and for the maintenance of husbandry and tillage. And to this purpose he brought in two bills .... He said he had perused the preambles of former statutes, and by them did see the inconveniences of this matter, being then scarce out of the shell, to be now fully ripened.... And though it may be thought ill and very prejudicial to lords that have enclosed great grounds and pulled down even whole towns, and converted them to sheep pastures; yet considering the increase of people and the benefit of the commonwealth I doubt not but every man will deem the revival of former moth-eaten laws in this point a praise-worthy thing.... For enclosure of grounds brings depopulation, which brings forth first idleness, secondly decay of tillage, thirdly subversion of houses, and decrease of charity and charge to the poor's maintenance, fourthly the impoverishing the state of the realm.... And I should be sorry to see within this kingdom that piece of Ovid's verse prove true, "Jam seges est ubi Troja fuit;" so in England, instead of a whole town full of people, none but green fields, but a shepherd and a dog.' Letters and Life, ii. 82.

The 'moth-eaten laws' had been passed from time to time in the reigns of former sovereigns, and in the first year of Elizabeth's reign. Bacon in his Life of Henry VII refers with praise to the earliest of them, viz. 4 Henry VII, cap. 19: 'Another statute was made of singular policy .... Inclosures at that time began to be more frequent, whereby arable land ... was turned into pasture. This bred a decay of people, and by consequence a decay of towns, churches, tithes and the like.... In remedying of this inconvenience the King's wisdom was admirable and the Parliament's at that time. Inclosures they would not forbid, for that had been to forbid the improvement of the patrimony of the kingdom; nor tillage they would not compel, for that was to strive with nature and utility.... The ordinance was, that all houses of husbandry, that were used with twenty acres of ground and upwards, should be maintained and kept up for ever; together with a competent proportion of land to be used and occupied with them, and in nowise to be severed from them,' &c. &c. Works, vi. 93.

It is curious to remark that the statute which Bacon commended to Parliament in 1597, 39 Elizabeth cap. 2, did the two things which he praises Henry and his Parliament for not having tried to do. It ordained that arable land which had been turned to pasture during the Queen's reign should go back to arable,—a strife, in Bacon's words, 'with nature and utility,'—and that for the future no more should be done in that way, forbidding thereby the 'improvement of the patrimony of the kingdom.'

l. 13. *The poets feign*] Bacon tells this story a little varied in the Advancement of Learning, and insists on the part played by Pallas as the goddess of wisdom: 'So in the fable that the rest of the Gods having conspired to bind Jupiter, Pallas called Briareus with his hundred hands to his aid; expounded that monarchies need not fear any curbing of their absoluteness by mighty subjects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be sure to come in on their side.' Works, iii. 345.

This is an instance of what Mr. Spedding terms Bacon's habit of improving a quotation. It was not Pallas who either sent for Briareus or advised Jupiter to send for him; it was Thetis according to Homer; according to Hesiod it was Gaia. The part assigned to Pallas, if any, was that of one of the conspirators.

Πολλάκι γάρ σεο πατρὸς ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἄκουσα
εὐχομένης, ὅτ' ἔφησθα κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι
οἴῃ ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι,
ὁππότε μιν συνδῆσαι Ὀλύμπιοι ἤθελον ἄλλοι,
Ἥρη τ', ἠδὲ Ποσειδάων, καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.
ἀλλὰ σὺ τόν γ' ἐλθοῦσα, θεὰ, ὑπελύσαο δεσμῶν,
ὦχ' ἑκατόγχειρον καλέσασ' ἐς μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον,
ὃν Βριάρεων καλέουσι θεοί κ.τ.λ. Iliad i. 396.

But in line 400 there is a var. lec., Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων for Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη, and the entire line is doubtful.

Hesiod tells the story differently. The struggle was between the Gods, the descendants of Kronos, and the Titans, and it was by the aid of Briareus and his two brothers that it was ended in favour of the Gods. About the counsel of Pallas there is no word in either version. Hesiod, Theogon. 633, &c.

l. 24. *Epimetheus*] Bacon tells this well-known story, with the same incorrectness of detail, in his Wisdom of the Ancients, sec. 26 (Works, vi. 669), and interprets it at greater length.

P. 102, l. 3. *Caesar*] This is recorded by Suetonius, but only as one in a series of sayings and doings, each of them far more calculated to offend and alarm. 'Praegravant tamen cetera facta dictaque ejus, ut et abusus dominatione, et jure caesus existimetur. Non enim honores modo nimios recepit, ut continuum consulatum, perpetuam dictaturam, praefecturamque morum, insuper praenomen imperatoris, cognomen patris patriae, statuam inter reges, suggestum in orchestra; sed ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est .... Nec minoris impotentiae voces propalam edebat, ut T. Ampius scribit: Nihil esse rempublicam, adpellationem modo, sine corpore, ac speciem. Syllam nescisse literas, qui dictaturam deposuerit. Debere homines consideratius jam loqui secum, ac pro legibus habere quae dicat.... Verum praecipuam et inexpiabilem sibi invidiam hinc maxime movit: Adeuntes se cum pluribus honorificentissimisque decretis, universos patres conscriptos sedens pro aede Veneris Genetricis excepit.' More follows to the same effect. Suetonius, Julius Caesar, cap. 76–78.

Bacon, in the Advancement of Learning, mentions the speech in the text among other speeches of Caesar 'admirable for vigour and efficacy,' and helping to prove the 'excellency of his learning.' Works, iii. 313. And he gives it a place in his Apophthegms. Works, vii. 144.

l. 6. *Galba*] 'Nec deerant sermones senium atque avaritiam Galbae increpantium. Laudata olim et militari fama celebrata severitas ejus augebat aspernantes veterem disciplinam .... Accessit Galbae vox pro re publica honesta, ipsi anceps, legi a se militem non emi.' Tacitus, Hist. i. 5.

l. 8. *Probus*] Vopiscus, who is the chief authority on Probus, mentions a speech to something like this effect, among the causes of Probus' murder, but writing as a historian, he does not give it the prominence which Bacon gives it. 'Causae occidendi ejus hae fuere: Primum, quod nunquam militem otiosum esse perpessus est, siquidem multa opera militari manu perfecit; dicens *annonam gratuitam militem comedere non debere.* His addidit dictum ejus grave.... Quia totum mundum fecerat jam Romanum; *Brevi,* inquit, *milites neces-*

sarios non habebimus .... Addam illud quod praecipue tanto viro fatalem properavit necessitatem. Nam quum Sirmium venisset, ac solum patrium effoecundari cuperet et dilatari, ad siccandam quamdam paludem multa simul milia militum posuit, ingentem parans fossam .... Permoti milites, confugientem eum .... interemerunt. Sylburgius, Historiae Augustae Scriptores Latini Minores (ed. 1588), vol. ii. p. 294, l. 30 *et seqq.*

l. 23. *Tacitus saith*] Hist. i. 28. These words describe the temper of the soldiers at Rome among whom Otho was proclaimed emperor in opposition to the reigning emperor Galba.

XVI.

OF ATHEISM.

I HAD rather believe[a] all the fables in the legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind; and, therefore, God never wrought miracle to convince[b] atheism, because his ordinary works convince it. It is true, that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion; for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate, and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity. Nay, even that school which is most accused of atheism doth most demonstrate religion: that is, the school of Leucippus, and Democritus, and Epicurus: for it is a thousand times more credible that four mutable elements, and one immutable fifth essence,

[a] *I had rather believe*] The Latin substitutes for this *Minus durum est credere.* So too the Italian, *più tosto crederei.* This agrees with the corresponding passage in the Antitheta—*Fabulosissima quaeque portenta cujusvis religionis citius crediderim*, &c. Works, i. 694. It may be taken, therefore, as correct. The French gives literally, *J'aimeroye mieux croire.*

[b] *to convince*] i. e. to refute. Lat. *ad atheismum convincendum.*

duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite small portions or seeds unplaced, should have produced this order and beauty without a divine marshal. The Scripture saith, *The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God;* it is not said, *The fool hath thought in his heart;* so as he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it; for none deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh[c] that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more that atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man than by this, that atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others; nay more, you shall have atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects; and, which is most of all, you shall have of them[d] that will suffer for atheism, and not recant; whereas, if they did truly think that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? Epicurus is charged, that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures, but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the government of the world; wherein they say he did temporize, though in secret he thought there was no God. But certainly he is traduced, for his words are noble and divine: *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi opiniones Diis applicare profanum.* Plato could have said no more; and although he had the confidence to deny the administration, he had not the power to deny the nature. The Indians of the west have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God: as if the heathens should have had the names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c., but not the word *Deus*, which

[c] *for whom it maketh*] i. e. for whose advantage it is. Lat. *cui Deos non esse expedit.* Conf. 'Which made for his absoluteness but not for his safety.' Works, vi. 242.

[d] *you shall have of them*] i. e. there are some of them. Lat. *quidam ex illis.*

shows that even those barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it; so that against atheists the very savages take part with the very subtilest philosophers. The contemplative atheist is rare; a Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian perhaps, and some others; and yet they seem to be more than they are; for that all that impugn a received religion, or superstition, are, by the adverse part, branded with the name of atheists. But the great atheists indeed are hypocrites, which are ever handling holy things, but without feeling; so as they must needs be cauterized in the end. The causes of atheism are, divisions in religion, if they be many; for any one main division addeth zeal to both sides, but many divisions introduce atheism: another is, scandal of priests, when it is come to that which St. Bernard saith, *Non est jam dicere ut populus, sic sacerdos; quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos:* a third is, custom of profane scoffing in holy matters, which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion; and lastly, learned times, specially with peace and prosperity; for troubles and adversities do more bow men's minds to religion. They that deny a God destroy man's nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beasts by his body; and, if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity, and the raising of human nature; for take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained[e] by a man, who to him is instead of a God, or *melior natura;* which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force

[e] *maintained*] i. e. supported or backed. Conf. 'He forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus, and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his son.' Essay 27.

and faith which human nature in itself could not obtain; therefore, as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty. As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations: never was there such a state for magnanimity as Rome. Of this state hear what Cicero saith; *Quam volumus, licet, Patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Poenos, nec artibus Graecos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terrae domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, atque hâc unâ sapientiâ, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.*

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 111, l. 1. *the legend*] i.e. the Golden Legend, compiled by Jacobus de Voragine of Genoa (whose long life extended over almost the whole of the thirteenth century), and translated from the original Latin into several modern European languages. An English version was published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1527. It begins with a curious blending of Scripture with monkish fable. Scriptural persons are introduced, and in some parts the Scriptural narrative is followed, but with so many and so strange additions, that the later passage into the region of pure fable is scarcely felt as a change. The story of the contest between St. Peter and Symon the sorcerer belongs to the earlier period; the lives of St. Brandon, St. Clare, and St. Francis to the latter. St. Francis, the founder of the frères mynours (fratres minores), is put forward as a model of piety and excellence. But we are told also that, during his stay in Alessandria, he had a capon seven years old for dinner, and that he gave a leg of it to a pretended beggar, who exhibited it to the people as proof of the delicate living of the saint. Suddenly, however, it changed in the man's hand to the semblance of a fish, and the intended trick failed. Then, when the man had ceased to exhibit it, the leg changed back again into what it was before. This is a fair average specimen of the contents of the book. It is by no means absurd throughout. It contains lessons of charity and devotion, as well as silly tales. The concluding words are, 'Thus endeth the Legend, named in Latin Legenda Aurea . . . for lyke as gold passeth all other metalles, so this boke exceedeth all other bokes.'

l. 1. *The Talmud*] Of the Talmud, or sacred common law of

the Jews, there are two recensions, the Palestinian and the Babylonian. Each of these is made up of two parts, the Mishna or decisions of early Jewish doctors on the law, and the Gemara or explanatory and critical remarks of later doctors on the Mishna, introducing by the way a vast heterogeneous mass of traditions and scientific views. The Mishna is substantially the same in both recensions. The Babylonian Gemara is the one which has come into vogue, to the neglect of the Palestinian. The Babylonian Gemara has its wonder stories, but not in the same proportion to the rest of the book as those in the Legend. Hershon's A Talmudic Miscellany (1880) gives numerous specimens of them. Among the most curious, but far too long to quote, is the story of Ashmedai, the king of the demons, and his relations with King Solomon, p. 93. Another is as follows: 'Caesar once said to Rabbi Yoshua ben Chananja, "This God of yours is compared to a lion ... Wherein consists his excellency? A horseman kills a lion." The Rabbi replied, "He is not compared to an ordinary lion, but to a lion of the forest Ilaei." "Show me that lion at once," said the Emperor ... So the Rabbi prayed to God to help him in his perplexity. His prayer was heard: the lion came forth from his lair and roared, upon which, though it was four hundred miles away, all the walls of Rome trembled and fell to the ground. Approaching three hundred miles nearer, he roared again, and this time the teeth of the people dropped out of their mouths and the Emperor fell from his throne quaking. "Alas! Rabbi, pray to thy God that he order the lion back to his abode in the forest"' (p. 249).

But the Miscellany does not give a fair average specimen of the contents of the Talmud. Its avowed purpose is polemical. It aims at proving to the Jews that the book does not deserve the implicit national reverence which they pay to it. Chiarini's French version of a continuous portion of the book gives a different impression from that conveyed by a studied selection of its most fanciful and outrageous parts. Both writers deal with the Babylonian recension.

l. 2. *the Alcoran*] The Coran (*al* is the Arabic article) borrows its stories very largely from the Talmud. Most of them are Biblical adaptations with much added matter: some are entirely original. The secret history (chap. xii) of Joseph and his brethren, ending with Joseph's prayer that he may die a Moslem and be joined with the righteous, is a specimen of the first class. The account of Solomon and his armies of genii and men and birds, and his adventures and intrigues (chap. xxvii), is said by Sale to be from the Talmud. That Mahomet was transported by night from the sacred temple of Mecca to the further temple of Jerusalem (chap. xvii), belongs to the last and least numerous class of entirely original stories.

These three books, the Legend, the Talmud, and the Coran, are treated by Ben Jonson even more irreverently than by Bacon. His 'An Execration to Vulcan,' written on the burning of some of his manuscripts, names the three, in company with a heap of rubbish, as fit food for fire, fitter than his own carefully laboured writings had been.

'Many a ream
To redeem mine I had sent in, enough
Thou shouldst have cried and all been proper stuff
The Talmud and the Alcoran had come
With pieces of the Legend, the whole sum
Of errant knighthood with the dames and dwarfs,' &c., &c.

Conf. also Jackson's dedication (date 1613) prefixed to the first edition of two sermons by Hooker, where he speaks of 'dreams and false miracles of counterfeit saints, enrolled in that sottish Legend, coined and amplified by a drowsy head between sleeping and waking.' Keble's Hooker, vol. iii. p. 816 (ed. 1836).

l. 4. *to convince atheism*] Conf. 'The bounds of this knowledge (of Natural Philosophy) are that it sufficeth to convince atheism but not to inform religion: and therefore there was never miracle wrought by God to convert an atheist, because the light of nature might have led him to confess a God.' Works, iii. 349.

l. 5. *a little philosophy*] This and much else of the Essay occurs in the Meditationes Sacrae; De Atheismo. Bacon, in these, starts from the text which he uses below in the Essay—*Dixit insipiens in corde suo, non est Deus*, and he argues from it to the same effect, but more at length and with some additions. Works, vii. 239-40. Conf. also—'It is an assured truth, and a conclusion of experience, that a little or superficial knowledge of philosophy may incline the mind of man to atheism; but a further proceeding therein doth bring the mind back again to religion; for in the entrance of philosophy, when the second causes which are next unto the senses do offer themselves to the mind of man, if it dwell and stay there it may induce some oblivion of the highest cause; but when a man passeth on further, and seeth the dependence of causes and the works of Providence, then, according to the allegory of the poets, he will easily believe that the highest link of nature's chain must needs be tied to the foot of Jupiter's chair.' Works, iii. 267.

l. 13. *Leucippus, Democritus, and Epicurus*] Here referred to only as holding the atomic theory and as accused of atheism. Conf. *Δημόκριτος μὲν πῦρ τι καὶ θερμόν φησιν αὐτὴν (τὴν ψυχὴν) εἶναι· ἀπείρων γὰρ ὄντων σχημάτων καὶ ἀτόμων τὰ σφαιροειδῆ πῦρ καὶ ψυχὴν λέγει, οἷον ἐν τῷ ἀέρι τὰ καλούμενα ξύσματα, ἃ φαίνεται ἐν ταῖς διὰ τῶν θυρίδων ἀκτῖσιν, ὧν τὴν πανσπερμίαν στοιχεῖα λέγει τῆς ὅλης φύσεως. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Λεύκιππος.* Arist. de Anima, i. cap. 2, sec. 3.

On the atheism of this school, conf. 'Quid Democritus, qui tum imagines earumque circuitus in Deorum numero refert, tum illam naturam quae imagines fundat ac mittat, tum scientiam intelligentiamque nostram, nonne in maximo errore versatur? Quum idem omnino, quia nihil semper suo statu maneat, neget esse quidquam sempiternum; nonne Deum omnino ita tollit; ut nullam opinionem ejus reliquam faciat?' Cicero, De Nat. Deorum, i. 12, sec. 29.

On the atomic theory, as held by Epicurus, Diogenes Laertius writes at great length. Conf. e. g. *Τὸ πᾶν ἐστὶ σῶμα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ σώματα ὡς ἔστιν, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ αἴσθησις ἐπὶ πάντων μαρτυρεῖ . . . . Τῶν σωμάτων τὰ μέν ἐστι συγκρίσεις, τὰ δ' ἐξ ὧν αἱ συγκρίσεις πεποίηνται. ταῦτα δέ ἐστιν ἄτομα καὶ ἀμετάβλητα . . . . Ὥστε τὰς ἀρχὰς, ἀτόμους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι σωμάτων φύσεις.* Diog. Laert. lib. x. sec. 39, 42, 41.

On the theistic views of Epicurus, who asserted the existence of Gods, but denied their interference with human affairs, or with the government of the world, conf. *Πρῶτον μὲν, τὸν θεὸν ζῷον ἄφθαρτον καὶ μακάριον νομίζων, ὡς ἡ κοινὴ τοῦ θεοῦ νόησις ὑπεγράφη . . . . Πᾶν δὲ τὸ φυλάττειν αὐτοῦ δυνάμενον τὴν μετὰ ἀφθαρσίας μακαριότητα περὶ αὐτὸν δόξαζε.* What he implied by this is seen in another passage: *Τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἄφθαρτον οὔτε αὐτὸ πράγματα ἔχει οὔτε ἄλλῳ παρέχει ὥστε οὔτε ὀργαῖς, οὔτε χάρισι συνέχεται. ἐν ἀσθενεῖ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον.* Diog. Laertius x. sec. 123, 139.

On which Cicero remarks, 'Epicurus vero ex animis hominum extraxit radicitus religionem, quum Diis immortalibus et opem et gratiam sustulit,' *et seq.* De Natura Deorum, xliii. 121.

Lucretius admits the inference, but in terms very different from those which Cicero employs. Vide Lucretius, De Rerum Natura, bk. i. 57 *et seq.* and *passim.*

l. 15. *four mutable elements* &c.] Bacon is referring here to the views which he ascribes elsewhere to Aristotle. Conf. 'Aristotelis temeritas et cavillatio nobis caelum peperit phantasticum, ex quinta essentia, experte mutationis, experte etiam caloris. Atque misso in praesenti sermone de quatuor elementis quae quinta essentia illa supponit,' &c. Works, iii. 749. This seems to be based on several passages in the De Caelo. Conf. especially, *Λείπεται ἆρα τοῦτο δεῖξαι, ὅτι ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ φυσικοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ συνέστηκε σώματος . . . . Ὥστε οὔτε νῦν εἰσὶ πλείους οὐρανοί, οὔτ' ἐγένοντο, οὔτ' ἐνδέχεται γενέσθαι πλείους· ἀλλ' εἷς καὶ μόνος. καὶ τέλειος οὗτος οὐρανός ἐστιν. . . . . Οὔτ' ἐν τόπῳ τἀκεῖ πέφυκεν, οὔτε χρόνος αὐτὰ ποιεῖ γηράσκειν, οὐδ' ἐστὶν οὐδενὸς οὐδεμία μεταβολὴ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐξωτάτω τεταγμένων φορὰν, ἀλλ' ἀναλλοίωτα καὶ ἀπαθῆ τὴν ἀρίστην ἔχοντα ζωὴν καὶ τὴν αὐταρκεστάτην διατελεῖ τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα.* De Caelo, i. cap. 9, sec. 7, 13, 14.

Plutarch refers in several places to this theory of Aristotle, e. g. in the Opinions of Philosophers, bk. i. cap. 3: 'Aristoteles of Stagira, the son of Nicomachus, hath put down . . . . . for elements, foure,

and for a fifth quintessence, the heavenly body which is immutable.' Morals, p. 662 (Holland's trans.)

Quintessence (*πέμπτη οὐσία*) is a phrase not found in Aristotle, but it has been not unaptly fathered upon him by later writers as equivalent to that which he describes in other terms.

P. 112, l. 4. *The Scripture saith*] Psalm xiv. 1 and liii. 1. The comment on this text is drawn out at much greater length and substantially to the same effect in the Meditationes Sacrae, and the remark is added, which occurs early in the Essay, 'that a little natural philosophy and the first entrance into it inclines men's opinions to Atheism; but on the other hand much natural philosophy and a deeper progress into it brings men's minds about again to religion.' Works, vii. pp. 239, 251.

l. 19. *Epicurus is charged*] Conf. 'Verius est igitur nimirum illud, quod familiaris omnium nostrûm Posidonius disseruit in libro quinto de natura Deorum,—nullos esse Deos Epicuro videri: quaeque is de Diis immortalibus dixerit, invidiae detestandae gratia dixisse. Neque enim tam desipiens fuisset ut homunculi similem Deum fingeret, lineamentis dumtaxat extremis, non habitu solido, membris hominis praeditum omnibus, usu membrorum ne minimo quidem, exilem quemdam atque perlucidum, nihil cuiquam tribuentem, nihil gratificantem, omnino nihil curantem, nihil agentem. Quae natura primum nulla esse potest: idque videns Epicurus, re tollit, oratione relinquit Deos.' Cicero, De Nat. Deorum, i. 44, sec. 123.

l. 25. *his words are noble and divine*] Conf. *Θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰσίν. ἐναργὴς μὲν γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἡ γνῶσις. οἵους δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν οὐκ εἰσίν· οὐ γὰρ φυλάττουσιν αὐτοὺς οἵους νομίζουσιν. ἀσεβὴς δὲ, οὐχ ὁ τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν θεοὺς ἀναιρῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας θεοῖς προσάπτων.* Diog. Laertius, x. sec. 123. When Bacon praises these words as noble and divine, it seems, strangely, not to have occurred to him that his own opinions are included among those which Epicurus condemns and reprobates.

l. 29. *The Indians of the west*] Father Acosta, writing to prove 'that the Indians have some knowledge of God,' says, 'They commonly acknowledge a supreme Lord and author of all things, which they of Peru called Unachocha, and gave him names of great excellence. . . . . Him they did worship as the chiefest of all whom they did honour in beholding the heaven. The like wee see amongest them of Mexico and China and all other infidelles. . . . . Those which at this day do preach the Gospel to the Indians, find no great difficulty to perswade them that there is a high God and Lord over all, and that this is the Christian's God and the true God. And yet it hath caused great admiration in me, that although they had this knowledge, yet had they no proper name for God. If wee shall seeke into the Indian tongue for a word to answer to this name of God, as in

Latin, Deus, in Greeke, Theos, in Hebrew, El, in Arabike, Alla; but wee shall not find any in the Cuscan or Mexicaine tongues. So as such as preach or write to the Indians use our Spanish name Dios.' Natural and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies, lib. v. cap. 3 (trans. by E. G. 1604).

P. 113, l. 4. *The contemplative atheist*] If this is meant as a contrast with 'those for whom it maketh that there were no God,' the choice of Bion, a man of infamous character, as a specimen of the class, does not seem happy. But Bion's morals, it may perhaps be urged, were not worse than those of the Gods, whose existence he dared to call in question.

Diagoras, of Melos, flourished in the latter part of the fifth century B.C. The name of atheist has been put upon him by almost universal consent. It is certain that he was opposed to the current theological beliefs of his age, and that in 411 B.C. he fled from Athens to escape being tried on a charge of impiety. Plutarch is among the many writers who speak of him as an atheist. Conf. 'Some of the philosophers, and namely, Diagoras of the Isle of Melos, Theodorus the Cyrenaean, and Euemerus of Tegea, held resolutely that there were no Gods.' Plutarch, Morals, Opinions of Philosophers, i. cap. 7 (p. 664 in Holland's trans.).

So, too, Aelian: *Καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπῄνεσε τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων σοφίαν; εἴγε μηδεὶς αὐτῶν εἰς ἀθεότητα ἐξέπεσε, μηδὲ ἀμφιβάλλουσι περὶ Θεῶν, ἆρά γέ εἰσιν ἢ οὔκ εἰσιν· καὶ ἆρά γε ἡμῶν φροντίζουσιν, ἢ οὔ. Οὐδεὶς γοῦν ἔννοιαν ἔλαβε τοιαύτην, οἵαν ὁ Εὐήμερος ὁ Μεσσήνιος, ἢ Διογένης ὁ Φρὺξ, ἢ Ἵππων, ἢ Διαγόρας, κ.τ.λ.* Var. Hist. ii. cap. 31. At the close of cap. 23 he speaks of him as *Θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς Διαγόρας*.

Cicero also speaks of him as bearing the name of atheist: 'Diagoras . . . . . Atheos ille qui dicitur.' De Nat. Deorum, iii. cap. 37.

The passage in the Clouds, l. 830, where Aristophanes speaks of *Σωκράτης ὁ Μήλιος* as teaching that *Δῖνος βασιλεύει, τὸν Δί' ἐξεληλακὼς*, is a clear reference to the Melian Diagoras, and may serve to explain the nature of his alleged atheism, and to limit it to the sense which Bacon assigns to it, as involving no more than the impugning a received religion.

Bion flourished about the middle of the third century B.C. He attached himself, in turn, to several philosophical schools, and, among others, to the school of Theodorus the atheist. Diogenes Laertius has preserved and endorsed a story that, in his last illness, he repented of his offences against the Deity, and took up with various superstitious practices. He concludes his life of Bion with some mocking verses on his early atheism and his alleged death-bed conversion. Conf.

Ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὰ Θεοδώρεια μετῆλθε,
διακούσας Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἀθέου.

Καὶ ὕστερόν ποτε, ἐμπεσὼν εἰς νόσον, ...
περίαπτα λαβεῖν ἐπείσθη, καὶ μεταγινώσκειν
ἐφ' οἷς ἐπλημμέλησεν ἐς τὸ Θεῖον. Bk. iv. sec. 52, 54.

The verses which follow are too long to quote.

l. 5. *a Lucian perhaps*] This instance is borne out, if at all, by the Hermotimus, a dialogue in which much of the argument used and finally approved is identical with that in Hume's well-known essay Of a particular Providence and of a Future State. Most of Lucian's writings do not go beyond the impugning a received religion or superstition.

l. 15. *that which Bernard saith*] The passage in the text is not what Bernard saith, if indeed the words are Bernard's at all. 'Da voci tuae vocem virtutis: consonet vita verbis: et statim erit in ore tuo vivus et efficax sermo Dei, et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti. Non sic profecto est; sed sicut populus sic et sacerdos: sicut laicus sic et clericus. Uterque cupit, uterque diligit mundum,' &c. Ad Pastores in Synodo Congregatos Sermo, sec. 8.

This address is printed by Migne (Patrologiae Cursus Completus) among St. Bernard's works, in vol. iii, but as of doubtful authorship. The heading is *Cujuscunque sit, nec inelegans est, nec lectu indignus.*

l. 17. *custom of profane scoffing*] Conf. 'Two principal causes have I ever known of Atheism: curious controversies, and profane scoffing.' Letters and Life, i. p. 77.

l. 28. *melior natura*] A phrase taken from Ovid:

'Hanc Deus et melior litem natura diremit.'

Metaph. bk. i. 21.

P. 114, l. 6. *what Cicero saith*] Vide 'Oratio de haruspicum responsis.' Cap. ix. sec. 19. The reading should be '*ipsi* nos amemus.' The quotation is otherwise correct.

XVII.

OF SUPERSTITION.

It were better to have no opinion of God at all than such an opinion as is unworthy of him; for the one is unbelief, the other is contumely: and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose; *Surely*, saith he, *I had rather a great deal men*

should say there was no such man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say that there was one Plutarch that would eat his children as soon as they were born; as the poets speak of Saturn: and, as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men. Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety[a], to laws, to reputation: all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men. Therefore atheism did never perturb states; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further; and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus Caesar) were civil times[b]; but superstition hath been the confusion of many states, and bringeth in a new *primum mobile* that ravisheth all the spheres of government. The master of superstition is the people; and in all superstition wise men follow fools; and arguments are fitted to practice[c] in a reversed order. It was gravely said by some of the prelates in the Council of Trent, where the doctrine of the schoolmen bare great sway, *that the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs to save the phenomena, though they knew there were no such things;* and, in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtile and intricate axioms and theorems, to save the practice of the Church. The causes of superstition are, pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies;

[a] *natural piety*] i. e. natural affection and regard to natural ties. A sense covered more usually by the Latin *pietas* than by the English.

[b] *civil times*] i. e. marked by conduct befitting *cives*, civilized, orderly. Lat. *tranquilla*. Conf. 'Ireland is the last *ex filiis Europae* which hath been reclaimed . . . from savage and barbarous customs to humanity and civility.' Letters and Life, vi. 205.

[c] *arguments are fitted to practice* &c.] The meaning of this compressed remark is that, whereas arguments ought rightly to come before and to guide practice, in the case supposed the unguided practice comes first, and is maintained afterwards by such arguments as can be found or invented to fit it: the wise men thus accepting the position of champions in the cause of the fools.

excess of outward and pharisaical holiness; overgreat reverence of traditions, which cannot but load[d] the Church; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties; the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations: and, lastly, barbarous times, especially joined with calamities and disasters. Superstition, without a veil, is a deformed thing; for as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed: and as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty observances. There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go furthest from the superstition formerly received; therefore care would be had[e] that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad, which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 120, l. 1. *It were better* &c.] Conf. Bacon's Letter to Mr. Matthew: 'And I entreat you much sometimes to meditate upon the extreme effects of superstition in this last Powder Treason; ..... well justifying the censure of the heathen, that superstition is far worse than atheism; by how much it is less evil to have no opinion of God at all, than such as is impious towards his divine majesty and goodness.' Letters and Life, iv. p. 10.

l. 4. *the reproach of the Deity*] Conf. 'Superstitio error insanus est: amandos timet; quos colit violat. Quid enim interest utrum Deos neges an infames.' Seneca, Epist. 123.

l. 4. *Plutarch saith well*] Conf. 'Shall he who thinketh that there be no Gods at all be taken for a profane person and excommunicate? And shall not he who beleeveth them to be such as superstitious folke imagine them, be thought infected with more impious and

[d] *load*] i. e. over-load, burden. Lat. *non potest non onerare.*

[e] *would be had*] i. e. ought to be had. Lat. *curae esse debet.* So *passim.*

wicked opinions? For mine own part, I would be better pleased and content if men should say of me thus: There neither is nor ever was in the world a man named Plutarch, than to give out of me and say: Plutarch is an unconstant man, variable, cholerick, full of revenge for the least occasion that is, or displeased or given to grieve for a small matter: who, if when you invite others to supper he be left out and not bidden, or if upon some businesse you be let and hindered so that you come not to his doore for to visit him, or otherwise do not salute and speake unto him friendly, will be ready to eat your heart with salt, or set upon you with his fangs and bite you, will not stick to catch up one of your little babes and worry him, or will keep some mischievous wild beast of purpose to put into your corne-fields, your vineyards or orchards, for to devoure and spoile all your fruits.' Plutarch, Morals, p. 219.

P. 121, l. 3. *as the poets speak of Saturn*]

'Reddita Saturno sors haec erat; Optime regum,
A nato sceptris excutiere tuis.
Ille suam metuens, ut quaeque erat edita, prolem
Devorat, immersam visceribusque tenet.'

Ovid, Fasti, iv. 197.

l. 15. *a new primum mobile*] Vide note on Essay 15, p. 104.

l. 18. *It was gravely said* &c.] This is not quite so. The facts, as narrated by Father Paul Sarpi, are that certain decrees had been put forth by the Council, involving abstruse and disputable views on divine influences as affecting the human will. These, which were received quietly in Rome, were freely discussed in Germany, where 'Fu da alcuni faceti detto, che si gli astrologi non sapendo le vere cause de' moti celesti, per salvare le apparenze hanno dato in eccentrici ed epicicli, non era maraviglia se volendo salvare le apparenze de' moti supracelesti, si dava in eccentricità di opinioni.' Vide Istoria del Concilio Tridentino, lib. ii. cap. 83 (vol. ii. p. 326 in the Mendrisio edition of 1835).

The sense of the remark seems to be that, since astronomers had fallen upon the invention of eccentrics and epicycles to explain celestial phenomena which they had seen, it was no surprise that divines, dealing in the dark with unseen supercelestial subjects, should be betrayed into eccentricities of another sort. The humour lies in the use of eccentric in its special astronomical sense, and then in its ordinary sense. But it was said not gravely, but 'da alcuni faceti,' not by some of the prelates in the Council, but by outsiders at a distance, and it made no mention of the schoolmen, and had no reference to anything that touched upon the practice of the Church.

l. 22. *eccentrics and epicycles*] These belong to, or rather were adapted into, the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, founded by Ptolemy of Alexandria, in the first half of the second century. The first thing to be explained was the apparent diurnal movement of the

sun and of the other heavenly bodies around the earth. That they moved in circles was an accepted tradition. But, if so, it was clear that the earth was not the exact centre about which they moved. The centre of their circles was assumed, therefore, to be fixed at a point outside the earth, so that the circles were thus 'eccentrics.' Then came a further difficulty. The planets did not keep close to the imaginary paths assigned to them, but had, each of them, real independent movements of their own. These movements were explained by the further theory that each planet, during its great daily circular course round the earth, was also moving in a smaller circle, the centre of which was placed in the circumference of the great circle; the great circle being itself considered to move, and to carry the appended lesser circle round with it. These smaller circles were thus circles upon a circle, or 'epicycles,' and by the help of these the whole observed phenomena, thus far, were taken in and accounted for, in other words, were 'saved.' The theory is fully explained in the Encyclopédie Dictionnaire, *sub voc.* Excentrique and Epicycle.

l. 22. *engines of orbs*] Lat. 'orbium machinas.' These words, followed, a little further on, by 'though they knew there were no such things,' would seem to imply that in Bacon's opinion the eccentrics and epicycles and all else were put forward by the astronomers as actual entities, and that the main objection to them was that they did not really exist, as the astronomers well knew. But conf. 'Neque illis qui ista proponunt admodum placet haec quae adducunt prorsus vera esse, sed tantummodo ad computationes et tabulas conficiendas commode supposita.' Works, iii. 735.

l. 22. *to save the phenomena*] i. e. so fully to account for all the phenomena that none of them had to be rejected or left out of account as irreconcilable with the theory. The phrase here follows Sarpi's 'per salvare le apparenze,' as Milton's use of the equivalent 'to save appearances' probably does (Par. Lost, viii. 82). It is (as Dr. Abbott, following Professor Mayor, points out) more than two thousand years old, being cited by Plutarch (ii. 932 *a*) from Cleanthes, who held that the Greeks ought to impeach the Samian Aristarchus for impiety, as shifting the hearth of the world, because in his efforts σώζειν τὰ φαινόμενα ('à sauver les apparences,' Amyot) he assumed the fixity of the heavens and the double movement of the earth.

Bacon's own views on astronomy, inclining more to the Ptolemaic than to the Copernican system, will be found at length in his Descriptio Globi Intellectualis and Thema Coeli. Works, iii. 725 *et seq.* 'They are,' says Mr. Spedding, in his learned preface to the Tracts, 'in truth views which it was natural for a man not well versed in the phenomena of the science to entertain and to promulgate.'

P. 122, l. 5. *taking an aim*] A matter of frequent censure with Bacon. Conf. e. g. 'Sacred Theology (which in our idiom we call Divinity) is grounded only upon the word and oracle of God, and not upon the light of nature.' Works, iii. 478.

l. 9. *as it addeth deformity* &c.] Montaigne notes the likeness and insists on the deformity, but it pleases him to point his remark against the man rather than against the ape. Conf. 'Celles qui nous retirent le plus, ce sont les plus laides et les plus abjectes de toute la bande: car, pour l'apparence exterieure et forme de visage, ce sont les magots: Simia quam similis, turpissima bestia, nobis: pour le dedans et parties vitales, c'est le porceau.' Essais, lib. ii. chap. 12 (vol. ii. p. 202 in ed. 1802, Paris).

XVIII.

OF TRAVEL.

TRAVEL, in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor or grave servant, I allow well[a]; so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before; whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go, what acquaintances they are to seek, what exercises or discipline the place yieldeth[b]; for else young men shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange thing, that in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries; but in land travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for

[a] *I allow well*] i. e. I approve. Lat. *probo*. Conf. 'This hope hath helped me to end this book: which if he allow I shall think my labour well imployed.' Preface to Ascham's Schole-master. And 'Many in the depths of their corrupt principles may despise it, yet it will receive an open allowance.' Works, iii. 279.

[b] *yieldeth*] i. e. produceth. Lat. *quae denique studia et disciplinae ibi vigeant.*

the most part they omit it; as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation: let diaries, therefore, be brought in use. The things to be seen and observed are, the courts of princes, especially when they give audience to ambassadors; the courts of justice, while they sit and hear causes; and so of consistories[c] ecclesiastic; the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant; the walls and fortifications of cities and towns; and so the havens and harbours; antiquities and ruins; libraries; colleges, disputations, and lectures, where any are; shipping and navies; houses and gardens of state and pleasure, near great cities; armories, arsenals, magazines, exchanges, burses[d], warehouses, exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers, and the like: comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort; treasuries of jewels and robes; cabinets and rarities; and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the places where they go; after all which the tutors or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs[e], masks, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and such shows, men need not to be put in mind of them: yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have

[c] *consistories*] The name is used, specially, of the Pope's Consistory or Council of the Pope and Cardinals, and of the authorized assemblies of the French Protestants and of the German Lutherans; and, generally, of any assembly of ecclesiastical persons. 'Consistorium postmodo etiam appellaverunt consessum Episcoporum aut Presbyterorum qui pro emergente quapiam inopinata difficultate congregabantur.' Ducange, Gloss. *sub voce.* Bacon probably uses the word of any ecclesiastical assemblies.

[d] *burses*] This word seems to mean the same as 'exchanges.' Conf. 'Primo anni mense Elizabetha, regia pompa Londinum ingressa, peristylium pulcherrimum (Bursam vocant) quod Thomas Greshamus . . . in mercatorum usum exstruxerat, invisit et Excambium Regium . . . nominavit.' Camden, Annals of Elizabeth's reign, in ann. 1571.

In Stow's Annals (in ann. 1571) the building is termed 'a Burse, or fair place for the assembly of merchants, like that of Antwerp.' Lombard Street, he says, was the old place of assembly, until the new building was opened, 'and then the merchants held their meetings at this Burse, for it was generally so called, until the Queen came thither.'

[e] *triumphs*] i.e. shows, of some splendour. Conf. Essay 37 on Masques and Triumphs. 'O thou art a perpetual triumph, an everlasting bonfire light.' 1 Henry IV, iii. sc. 3.

a young man to put his travel into a little room[f], and in short time to gather much, this you must do: first, as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth; then he must have such a servant or tutor as knoweth the country, as was likewise said: let him carry with him also some card[g] or book describing the country where he travelleth, which will be a good key to his inquiry; let him keep also a diary; let him not stay long in one city or town, more or less as the place deserveth, but not long; nay, when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another, which is a great adamant[h] of acquaintance; let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth: let him, upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth, that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know; thus he may abridge his travel with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel, that which is most of all profitable, is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors; for so in travelling in one country he shall suck the experience of many: let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds, which are of great name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the

[f] *put his travel into a little room*] Lat. *fructum peregrinationis in compendium redigere.*

[g] *card*] i. e. chart. Lat. *chartam chorographicam.* Conf. 'That one may know, as a shipmaster by his card, how far we are wide on the one side or on the other.' Hooker, Sermon 4. And 'That law which hath been the pattern to make, and is the card to guide the world by.' Eccl. Pol. i. cap. 2, sec. 5.

[h] *adamant*] i. e. load-stone. Conf. 'There was an assured guide provided for such as travel that way: that is, the compasse to sail by, and the vertue of the Adamant stone.' Acosta, Hist. of East and West Indies (trans. by E. G. 1604), Bk. i. cap. 17. The Latin brings out the simile more clearly than the English — *hoc certe magnes est attrahendi familiaritates et consuetudines hominum complurium.*

life agreeth with the fame; for quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided; they are commonly for mistresses, healths[i], place, and words; and let a man beware how he keepeth company with choleric and quarrelsome persons; for they will engage him into their own quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him, but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth; and let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or gesture; and in his discourse let him be rather advised[k] in his answers, than forwards to tell stories: and let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts; but only prick in[l] some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.

Notes and Illustrations.

The line of advice, in much of this Essay, is not unlike that in 'Advice to the Earl of Rutland on his Travels,' Letters ii. and iii., which Mr. Spedding sets down, with some hesitation, as not improbably from Bacon's pen, at least in the original draft. Letters and Life, ii. pp. 3–20.

P. 128, l. 10. *let his travel appear rather* &c.] On this advice and on the occasion for it, conf. Overbury's Characters, under the heading 'An Affected Traveller.' 'His attire speaks French or Italian, and his gate says—Behold me. He censures all things by countenances and shruggs, and speaks his own language with shame and lisping.' And 'Farewell, Monsieur Traveller: look you lisp and wear strange suits,

[i] *healths*] Lat. *compotationes*. The meaning probably is that deep drinking bouts are common occasions of quarrels. For sense of the word, conf. 'As if one should, in forbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a meal.' Essay 38.

'And then dreams he of cutting foreign throats,
Of breaches, ambuscadoes, Spanish blades,
Of healths five-fathom deep.'
Romeo and Juliet, i. sc. 4.

[k] *advised*] i. e. deliberate. Lat. *meditetur quid sobrie respondeat*. Conf. 'Judges . . . ought to be more advised than confident.' Essay 56, where the Latin gives *deliberativum quam confidentem*.

[l] *prick in*] i. e. plant in. Conf. 'Part of which heaps to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top.' Essay 46.

disable all the benefits of your own country, be out of love with your nativity, and almost chide God for making you that countenance you are: or I will scarce think you have swam in a gondola.' As You Like It, act iv. sc. 1.

'Report of fashions in proud Italy;
Whose manners still our tardy apish nation
Limps after in base imitation.'

King Richard II, act ii. sc. 1.

'Heare what the Italian sayth of the English Man, what the master reporteth of the scholer; who uttereth playnlie, what is taught by him, and what learned by you, saying, *Englese Italianato e un diabolo incarnato* . . . If some do not well understand what is an English man Italianated, I will plainlie tell him. He that by living and travelling in Italie, bringeth home into England out of Italie the Religion, the learning, the policie, the experience, the manners of Italie. That is to say, for Religion, Papistrie or worse: for learnyng, less commonly than they carried out with them; for pollicie, a factious hart, a discoursing head, a mynde to medle in all men's matters; for experience, plentie of new mischieves never knowne in England before: for maners, varietie of vanities and chaunge of filthy lyving. These be the inchantementes of Circes, brought out of Italie, to marre mens manners in England.' Ascham's Scholemaster, bk. i. The latter part of this book is almost entirely on the same subject.

Bishop Hall, in his Quo vadis? writes no less strongly against all foreign travel, as useless and probably mischievous.

XIX.

OF EMPIRE.

It is a miserable state of mind to have few things to desire and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the case of Kings who being at the highest, want matter of desire, which makes their minds more languishing; and have many representations of perils and shadows, which makes their minds the less clear: and this is one reason also of that effect which the Scripture speaketh of, *That the king's heart is inscrutable:* for multitude of jealousies,

and lack of some predominant desire that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any man's heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes likewise that princes many times make themselves desires, and set their hearts upon toys; sometimes upon a building; sometimes upon erecting of an order[a]; sometimes upon the advancing of a person; sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some art, or feat of the hand; as Nero for playing on the harp; Domitian for certainty of the hand with the arrow; Commodus for playing at fence; Caracalla for driving chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the principle *that the mind of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things than by standing at a stay in great.* We see also that Kings that have been fortunate conquerors in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their fortunes, turn in their latter years to be superstitious and melancholy; as did Alexander the Great, Dioclesian, and in our memory, Charles the Fifth, and others; for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour and is not the thing he was.

To speak now of the true temper of empire[b]: it is a

[a] *erecting of an order*] Lat. *ad ordinem aliquem aut collegium instituendum.*

[b] *true temper of empire*] The text, here, is obscure from too much compression. Bacon, speaking in the House of Commons, refers to the story about Vespasian in words which will explain what he means here. *Divus Nerva res olim dissociabiles miscuit, Imperium et libertatem.* Nerva did temper things that before were thought incompatible or insociable, Sovereignty and Liberty. And it is not amiss in a great council and a great cause to put the other part of the difference which was significantly expressed by the judgment which Apollonius made of Nero, which was thus: 'When Vespasian came out of Judea ... he spake with Apollonius ... and asked him a question of state: *What was Nero's fall or overthrow?* Apollonius answered again, *Nero could tune the harp well: but in government he always either wound up the pins too high and strained the strings too far, or let them down too low, and slackened the strings too much.* Here we see the difference between regular and able princes and irregular and incapable, Nerva and Nero. The one tempers and mingles the sove-

thing rare and hard to keep; for both temper and distemper consist of contraries; but it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent instruction. Vespasian asked him, *What was Nero's overthrow?* he answered, *Nero could touch and tune the harp well; but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low.* And certain it is, that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in princes' affairs is rather fine deliveries, and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs, when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof: but this is but to try masteries with[c] fortune; and let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared: for no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great; but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with princes (saith Tacitus) to will contradictories; *Sunt plerumque regum*

reignty with the liberty of the subject wisely: and the other doth interchange it and vary it unequally and absurdly.' Letters and Life, iv. 177.

It appears then that 'the true temper of empire' is the state of things which exists when the two contraries, sovereignty and liberty, are mingled in fit proportions. 'Distemper' is when the two are interchanged or alternated. That temper and distemper 'consist of contraries' is said, not very precisely, because they are caused respectively by the mingling and by the alternating of two contrary extremes.

The story of Vespasian and Apollonius rests on the authority, such as it is, of Philostratus: *τί σοι, ἔφη, Νέρωνος ἀρχὴ ἐφαίνετο; καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος— Νέρων, εἶπε, κιθάραν μὲν ἴσως ἤδει ἁρμόττεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἥσχυνεν ἀνέσει καὶ ἐπιτάσει.* Philostratus, Vita Apollonii, lib. v. cap. 10.

[c] *to try masteries with*] i.e. to measure strength with. Lat. *in agone cum fortuna experiri.* Mastery is sometimes used for eminence in strength or skill; sometimes for the result of such eminence, viz. victory in a contest. Conf. 'So shall nature be cherished, and yet taught masteries.' Lat. *et robur acquiret.* Essay 30.

And—'And if a man also strive for masteries (*ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀθλῇ τις*), yet is he not crowned, except he strive lawfully.' II Tim. ii. 5.

voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariae; for it is the solecism[d] of power to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the mean[e].

Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second-nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First for their neighbours; there can no general rule be given (the occasions are so variable), save one which ever holdeth; which is, that princes do keep due sentinel that none of their neighbours do overgrow so (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches[f], or the like), as they become more able to annoy them than they were; and this is generally the work of standing counsels to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, King Henry the Eighth of England, Francis the First, King of France, and Charles the Fifth, Emperor, there was such a watch kept that none of the three could win a palm of ground but the other two would straightways balance it, either by confederation, or, if need were, by a war; and would not in anywise take up peace at interest[g]: and the like was done by that league (which Guicciardini saith was the security of Italy), made between Ferdinando, King of Naples, Lorenzius Medici, and Ludovicus Sforza, potentates, the one of

[d] *solecism*] Properly an ungrammatical sentence; hence sometimes used for a mistake of any kind. Conf. 'Sylla, resigning the State and his Guard both at once, however he is charged by Cæsar *nescire literas*, may seem to have followed a better grammar than Cæsar himself, who dismissing his Guard and not his Government, committed a notable and dangerous solecism in matter of State, and opened the way to his own destruction.' Sir Henry Savile, A View of Military affairs relating to the Roman History, pp. 38 and 39, appended to Sir Henry Savile's translation of Tacitus, Histories, ed. 1698.

[e] *the mean*] i. e. the means. Frequent throughout the Essays.

[f] *by embracing of trade, by approaches*] Lat. *vel commercium ad se trahendo, vel propius accedendo.*

[g] *take up peace at interest*] i. e. accept a present peace, for which they would have to pay heavily in the end.

Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received, *that a war cannot justly be made but upon a precedent injury or provocation;* for there is no question but a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war.

For their wives, there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed for the poisoning of her husband; Roxolana, Solyman's wife, was the destruction of that renowned prince Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house and succession; Edward the Second of England his Queen had the principal hand in the deposing and murder of her husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly when the wives have plots for the raising of their own children, or else that they be advoutresses.

For their children, the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many; and generally the entering of fathers into suspicion of their children hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha (that we named before) was so fatal to Solyman's line, as the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue and of strange blood; for that Selymus the Second was thought to be supposititious. The destruction of Crispus, a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great his father, was in like manner fatal to his house; for both Constantinus and Constance, his sons, died violent deaths; and Constantius, his other son, did little better, who died indeed of sickness, but after that Julianus had taken arms against him. The destruction of Demetrius, son to Philip the Second of Macedon, turned upon the father, who died of repentance. And many like examples there are; but few or none where the fathers had good by such distrust, except it were where the sons were up in open

arms against them; as was Selymus the First against Bajazet, and the three sons of Henry the Second, King of England.

For their prelates; when they are proud and great there is also danger from them; as it was in the times of Anselmus and Thomas Becket, Archbishops of Canterbury, who with their crosiers did almost try it with the King's sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty Kings; William Rufus, Henry the First, and Henry the Second. The danger is not from that state, but where it hath a dependence of[h] foreign authority; or where the churchmen come in and are elected, not by the collation of the King or particular patrons, but by the people.

For their nobles; to keep them at a distance it is not amiss; but to depress them may make a King more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform anything that he desires. I have noted it in my History of King Henry the Seventh of England, who depressed his nobility; whereupon it came to pass that his times were full of difficulties and troubles; for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business; so that in effect he was fain to do all things himself.

For their second[i] nobles; there is not much danger from them, being a body dispersed: they may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt: besides, they are a counterpoise to the higher nobility, that they grow not too potent; and, lastly, being the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions.

For their merchants; they are *vena porta*; and if they

[h] *hath a dependence of*] i. e. can, as subject, look to receive support from. Lat. *ab auctoritate et jurisdictione principatus externi pendet.*

[i] *second*] i. e. inferior. Conf. 'Those that are seconds in factions do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals.' Essay 51.

flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little[k]. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the King's revenue, for that which he wins in the hundred, he loseth in the shire; the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.

For their commons; there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.

For their men of war; it is a dangerous state where they live and remain in a body and are used to donatives; whereof we see examples in the Janizaries and Praetorian bands of Rome; but trainings of men, and arming them in several[1] places, and under several commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence and no danger.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times; and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning Kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances, *Memento quod es homo* and *Memento quod es Deus*, or *vice Dei*; the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 129, l. 5. *representations of perils and shadows*] Bacon notes this several times in his Life of Henry VII. 'Partly through natural valour, and partly through an universal suspicion (not knowing whom to trust) he was ever ready to wait upon all his achievements in person.' Works, vi. 49.

'He was possessed with many secret fears touching his own

[k] *will nourish little*] Lat. *potest habere habitum corporis macrum.* For this neuter use of 'nourish,' conf. 'The coldness of the ground, whereby the plants nourish less.' Works, ii. 511.

[1] *several*] i. e. separate. Lat. *in locis diversis.* Conf. 'habits and faculties several and to be distinguished.' Essay 6.

And, 'Two notable thieves . . . were hanged the last week on several gibbets, Courtney within the city and the other without.' Chamberlain to Carleton, March 25, 1612.

people.' p. 67. 'A dark prince and infinitely suspicious.' p. 242. 'He was indeed full of apprehensions and suspicions. But as he did easily take them, so he did easily check them and master them; whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himself more than others.' p. 243.

l. 7. *the Scripture*] Prov. xxv. 3.

P. 130, l. 8. *Nero*] Conf. 'Inter ceteras disciplinas pueritiae tempore imbutus et musica, statim ut imperium adeptus est Therpnum citharoedum, vigentem tunc praeter alios, arcessit: diebusque continuis post coenam canenti in multam noctem assidens, paulatim et ipse meditari exercerique coepit: nec eorum quidquam omittere quae generis ejus artifices, vel conservandae vocis causa vel augendae, factitarent.' Suetonius, lib. vi. cap. 20. Much more follows to the same effect.

'Primo carmen in scena recitat: mox flagitante vulgo ut omnia studia sua publicaret . . . . ingreditur theatrum, cunctis citharae legibus obtemperans . . . . Postremo flexus genu, et coetum illum manu veneratus, sententias judicum opperiebatur ficto pavore.' Tacitus, Ann. xvi. 4.

But this love of music is only one of the many unprincely weaknesses which Tacitus ascribes to Nero.

l. 9. *Domitian*] Conf. 'Armorum nullo, sagittarum vel praecipuo studio tenebatur. Centenas varii generis feras saepe in Albano secessu conficientem spectavere plerique: atque etiam ex industria ita quarumdam capita figentem ut duobus ictibus quasi cornua efficeret. Nonnumquam in pueri procul stantis, praebentisque pro scopulo dispansam dextrae manus palmam, sagittas tanta arte direxit ut omnes per intervalla digitorum innocue evaderent.' Suetonius, lib. viii. cap. 19.

l. 10. *Commodus*] Conf. 'Inter haec refertur in literas pugnasse illum sub patre trecenties sexagies quinquies: item postea tantum palmarum gladiatoriarum confecisse, vel victis retiariis vel occisis, ut mille contingeret. Ferarum autem diversarum manu sua occidit multa milia.' Aelius Lampridius, Sylburgius, Script. Lat. Minores, vol. ii. p. 160, 37 (ed. 1588).

l. 10. *Caracalla* &c.] Conf. 'Ηρματηλάτει τε τῇ οὐενετίῳ στολῇ χρώμενος. . . . . 'Αγωνοθέτην δὲ ἢ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων τινα ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πλουσίων ἐκάθιζεν, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλίσκηται. Προσεκύνει τε αὐτοὺς κάτωθεν τῇ μάστιγι· καὶ χρυσοῦς ὥσπερ τις τῶν ταπεινοτάτων ἤτει. Καὶ ἔλεγε κατὰ τὸν ἥλιον τῇ ἁρματηλασίᾳ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ἐπ' αὐτῇ. Dion Cassius, lxxvii. sec. 10.

'Εκεῖνος δὲ ἐπήγγελλε μὲν, ὡς καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἕω αὐτίκα δικάσων, ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι δημόσιον πράξων· παρέτεινε δὲ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν μεσημβρίαν, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας . . . . . 'Εν δὲ τούτῳ τά τε ἄλλα ἐφιλοπραγμόνει, ὥσπερ εἶπον, καὶ ἅρματα ἤλαυνε . . . . . Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἐδίκαζε. Sec. 17.

l. 19. *Alexander the Great*] Conf. 'Yet had he many other ill signes and tokens one upon another, that made him affraid. For there was a tame asse that killed one of the greatest and goodliest Lions in all Babylon, with one of his feet. Another time when Alexander had put off his clothes, to be nointed to play at tennis: when he should put on his apparell againe, the yong gentleman that played with him, found a man set in his chaire of estate, having the king's diademe on his head, and his gowne on his back, and said never a word. Then they asked him what he was. It was long before he made them answer, but at the length comming to himselfe, he said his name was Dionysius, borne in Messina: and being accused for certain crimes committed, he was sent from the sea thither, where he had been a long time prisoner, and also that the god Serapis had appeared unto him, and undone his irons, and that he commanded him to take the king's gowne, and his diademe, and to sit him downe in his chaire of estate, and say never a word. When Alexander heard it, he put him to death according to the Counsell of his Soothsayers: but then his mind was troubled, and feared that the gods had forsaken him, and also grew to suspect his friends ..... Now after that Alexander had left his trust and confidence in the gods, his mind was so troubled and affraid, that no strange thing happened unto him (how little soever it was) but he tooke it straight for a signe and prediction from the gods: so that his tent was alwaies full of Priests and Soothsayers that did nothing but sacrifice and purifie, and tend unto divinements. So horrible a thing is the mistrust and contempt of the gods, when it is begotten in the hearts of men, and superstition also so dreadfull, that it filleth the guiltie consciences and fearfull hearts like water distilling from above: as at that time it filled Alexander with all follie, after that feare had once possessed him.' Plutarch, Lives, North's trans. 709, 710.

It is reported that King Alexander the Great, hearing Anaxarchus the philosopher discoursing and maintaining this position, 'That there were worlds innumerable, fell a weeping: and when his friends and familiars about him asked what he ailed, "have I not" (quoth he) "good cause to weep, that being as there are an infinite number of worlds, I am not yet the Lord of one."' Plutarch, Morals, of tranquillity and contentment of mind, p. 121. This story, so foolish that Plutarch does not venture to vouch for it, certainly came within the range of Bacon's reading, and may have served him as a proof of the melancholy to which Alexander turned, finding that it was not possible for him to go forward infinitely &c.

l. 20. *Diocletian*] There is no proof that Diocletian in his latter years turned to be either superstitious or melancholy. His reign, says Gibbon, 'had flowed with a tide of uninterrupted success; nor

was it till after he had vanquished all his enemies, and accomplished all his designs, that he seems to have entertained any serious thoughts of resigning the empire.' At last, under the pressure of sickness, 'he resolved to pass the remainder of his days in honourable repose, to place his glory beyond the reach of fortune, and to relinquish the theatre of the world to his younger and more active associates.' Decline and Fall, chap. xiii.

'The parallel of Charles the fifth,' Gibbon remarks, 'will naturally offer itself to our mind.' It would seem that to Bacon's mind the mention of Charles the Fifth had suggested the parallel of Diocletian, whose name does not occur in the Essay 'Of Empire' in the edition of 1612. Both emperors abdicated, but 'the abdication of Charles,' says Gibbon, 'appears to have been hastened by the vicissitudes of fortune; and the disappointment of his favourite schemes urged him to relinquish a power which he found inadequate to his ambition.'

P. 131, l. 13. *fine deliveries*] Bacon remarks this of King Henry VII. 'His wisdom, by often evading from perils, was turned rather into a dexterity to deliver himself from dangers when they pressed him, than into a providence to prevent and remove them afar off. And, even in nature, the sight of his mind was like some sights of eyes; rather strong at hand than to carry afar off. For his wit increased upon the occasion; and so much the more if the occasion were sharpened by danger.' Works, vi. 244.

l. 21. *For it is common with princes, saith Tacitus*] This sentence, or rather one resembling it, occurs not in Tacitus but in Sallust's Bellum Jugurthinum, cap. 113 (in the Delphin ed.): 'Sed plerumque regiae voluntates ut vehementes, sic mobiles, saepe ipsae sibi adversae.' The passage is quoted correctly and as from Sallust in the Advancement of Learning. Works, iii. 436.

P. 132, l. 16. *During that triumvirate* &c.] This is substantially the same as a passage in 'Considerations touching a war with Spain.' Letters and Life, vii. 477.

Of the mischief and misery caused by the jealousies and ambitions and aimless quarrels of this 'triumvirate,' and especially of Francis and Charles, Bacon says nothing. They would have pointed a moral very different from his.

l. 23. *that league, which Guicciardini saith* &c.] Guicciardini, after stating at length the relations and aims of the different states of Italy about the middle of the fifteenth century, sums up: 'Essendo adunque in Ferdinando, Lodivico, e Lorenzo, parte per i medesimi parte per i diversi rispetti, la medesima intenzione alla pace, si continuava facilmente una confederazione contratta in nome di Ferdinando Re di Napoli, di Giovan Galeazzo Duca di Milano, e della Repubblica Fiorentina, per difensione de' loro Stati .... avendo per fine principalmente di non lasciar diventare più potenti i

Veneziani . . . . . Tale era lo stato delle cose, tali erano i fondamenti della tranquillità d' Italia, disposti e contrappesati in modo che non solo di alterazione presente non si temeva, ma nè si poteva facilmente congetturare di quali consigli, o per quali casi, o con quali armi si avesse a muovere tanta quiete.' Istoria d' Italia, vol. i. pp. 7, 8, 9.

P. 133, l. 1. *Neither is the opinion* &c.] On this subject, of a just cause of war, Bacon speaks at greater length in his 'Considerations touching a war with Spain,' to the same effect as in the Essay, and with an express reference to the opinion of St. Thomas Aquinas: 'Howsoever some schoolmen (otherwise reverend men, yet fitter to guide penknives than swords) seem precisely to stand upon it, that every offensive war must be *ultio*; a revenge, that pre-supposeth a precedent assault or injury; yet neither do they descend to this point (which we now handle) of a just fear; neither are they of authority to judge this question against all the precedents of time. For certainly, as long as men are men, ... and as long as reason is reason, a just fear will be a just cause of a preventive war . . . . . St. Thomas in his own text, defining of the just causes of a war, doth leave it upon very general terms: *Requiritur ad bellum causa justa, ut scilicet illi qui impugnantur, propter aliquam culpam impugnationem mereantur:* for *impugnatio culpae* is a far more general word than *ultio injuriae.*' Letters and Life, vii. 477, 478.

The above quotation from Aquinas is correct as far as it goes (Summa Theologiae, Secunda Secundae, Quaest. xl. Artic. 1), but it is not correct to say that it 'doth leave it upon very general terms.' The words which follow define precisely what *impugnatio culpae* means: 'Unde Aug. dicit (in lib. 83 quaest.) justa bella solent diffiniri, quae ulciscuntur injurias, si gens vel civitas plectenda est quae vel vindicare neglexerit quod a suis improbe factum est, vel reddere quod per injuriam ablatum est.' These words, quoted with approval by Aquinas as explanatory of his own words, are fatal to the distinction which Bacon attempts to set up between *impugnatio culpae* and *ultio injuriae.*

Albericus Gentilis approves 'defensive wars,' but so guardedly as to give no support to Bacon's extreme views: 'Utilem dico defensionem quum movemus nos bellum, verentes ne ipsi bello petamur . . . . Expectare non debemus praesentem vim si futurae occurrere tutius.' De Jure Belli, i. 14.

He adds, however, on further discussion of the subject: 'Hominis autem vita non tam iniquis neque tam indomitis necessitatibus circumscripta est ut idcirco prior injuriam facere debeas, quam nisi feceris pati possis.' vii. cap. 3.

His conclusion on the whole case is: 'Defensio justa est, quae praevenit pericula jam meditata, parata; etiam et nec meditata at verisimilia, possibilia: neque tamen ultimum hoc simpliciter, aut

dicerem justum dare operam bello huic statim atque aliquis fieret potens nimis. Quod non dico.'

But there is higher authority yet. Bacon's fine contempt of 'reverend men yet fitter to guide penknives than swords,' seems a little out of place when we find that it includes Grotius. Nothing could be more emphatic than the sentence passed by Grotius on Albericus Gentilis and *a fortiori* on Bacon. 'Causa justa belli suscipiendi nulla esse alia potest nisi injuria.' De Jure Belli et Pacis, ii. 1. 1.

'Illud vero minime ferendum est quod quidam tradiderunt, jure gentium arma recte sumi ad imminuendam potentiam crescentem quae nimium aucta nocere posset .... Ut vim pati posse ad vim inferendam jus tribuat ab omni aequitatis ratione abhorret.' ii. 1. 17.

'Metum ergo ex vicina potentia non sufficere supra diximus. Ut enim justa sit defensio necessariam esse oportet, qualis non est nisi constet non tantum de potentia sed et de animo; et quidem ita constet ut certum id sit ea certitudine quae in morali materia locum habet.' ii. 22. 5.

This makes short work of Bacon's 'one rule which ever holdeth.' It is worth remark that the Essay in its latest and most truculent form was published in the same year, and about the same time, as the first edition of the De Jure Belli et Pacis.

l. 7. *Livia* &c.] This Livia is the wife of Drusus, the son of the Emperor Tiberius. 'Hanc (Sejanus) ut amore incensus, adulterio pellexit; et postquam primi flagitii potitus est (neque femina, amissa pudicitia, alia abnuerit) ad conjugii spem, consortium regni, et necem mariti impulit .... Sumitur in conscientiam Eudemus amicus ac medicus Liviae, specie artis frequens secretis.' Tacitus, Ann. iv. 3.

According to Tacitus it was to Sejanus, and not to Livia, that the final guilt attached. 'Sejanus maturandum ratus deligit venenum quo paulatim irrepente fortuitus morbus assimilaretur. Id Druso datum per Lygdum spadonem, ut octo post annos cognitum est.' Cap. 8.

Dion Cassius divides the guilt somewhat differently. He says of Sejanus, *Φάρμακόν τι αὐτῷ* (sc. to Drusus) *διά τε τῶν ἐν τῇ θεραπείᾳ αὐτοῦ ὄντων, καὶ διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, ἣν τινες Λιουΐλλαν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἔδωκε.* lvii. cap. 22.

l. 8. *Roxolana*] 'This woman, late a slave, but now become the greatest Empresse of the East ... wanted nothing she could wish but how to find means that the Turkish empire might after the death of Solyman be brought to some of her own sons.... Noble Mustapha, Solyman's eldest sonne and heire apparent of the Empire .... was the only cloud that kept the sunne from shining upon her: if he by any means might be taken away, then wanted nothing that she desired. Which to bring to pass, the wicked woman laboured

cunningly by little and little to breed in Solyman's head no small suspition of Mustapha .... This mischievous plot, by her devised, was not a little furthered by Rustan the great Bassa ... who nothing omitted that could be slily devised for the disgrace or confusion of the young Prince .... They so prevailed with the aged man, whom they never suffered to rest in quiet, that he at length resolved to worke his safety (as he supposed) by the death of his owne sonne.'

The plot was successful. Mustapha was induced to come to his father's tent, and there, says Knolles, 'the butcherly Muts threw the poore innocent Prince upon the ground, and with the helpe of the Eunuches forcibly drawing the knotted bow-string both waies, by the commandment of a most wicked father strangled him.' Knolles, Hist. of the Turks, 759–763.

l. 10. *otherwise troubled* &c.] i. e. by supporting Bajazet her younger son against his elder brother Selymus. 'Selymus the elder brother, most like unto his mother, was in the secret determination of the aged Emperor his father appointed heire of that most mighty empire. Bajazet, much resembling his father, was on the other side strongly supported by the care and entire love of his mother.' p. 768. The account follows of Bajazet's rebellions and final death by the bow-string.

l. 24. *Selymus the Second* &c.] 'So that now remained unto him only Selymus and Bajazet, both men growne and the sonnes of the same Roxolana, but so far differing the one from the other both in feature of body and disposition of mind as if they had not bin of the same kindred and line.' Knolles, Hist. of Turks, p. 767. 'In Selymus appeared no likenes of himself, but the express liniaments of his mother's face and body, a woman whilst she lived generally hated of all the people. He went heavily as overcharged with his greasie paunch, blub cheeked and exceeding red faced. ... The soldiers began to ask among themselves, why his father should reject (Bajazet) him of such worth, the expresse image of himself, and prefer before him that gorbellied sluggard, in whom no spark of his father's valor was to be seen.' p. 775.

Crispus was put to death by Constantine at the instigation of his stepmother Fausta, Constantine's second wife. Constantine the Second was killed in battle while he was invading his brother Constans' territory. Constans (whom Bacon calls Constance) was killed during a rebellion and mutiny of his own soldiers. Constantius died (A.D. 361) while he was on his march against Julian.

l. 31. *The destruction of Demetrius* &c.] Demetrius, son of Philip the Fifth of Macedon, was charged by his brother Perseus with treasonable relations with the Romans. 'I believe,' says Niebuhr, 'that Demetrius without having any evil intention allowed himself to be gained over by the Romans to act against the interests of his father, and he seems actually to have become faithless in the execu-

tion of his commission (as ambassador). It does not seem to me wrong that Perseus accused him, and that the father afterwards regarded him as a traitor. . . . Demetrius died, and the general opinion is that the father caused him to be poisoned.' Lectures on Ancient History, lecture cx. Livy insists strongly on his innocence. In mentioning the circumstances of his death, he says only that Philip 'mandata dedisse dicitur de filio occidendo.' Bk. xl. 24. He refers to it afterwards as a fact, and to repentance for it as a chief cause of Philip's death. 'Eodem anno (B.C. 179) Philippus rex Macedonum, senio et maerore consumptus post mortem filii, decessit. Demetriade hibernabat, quum desiderio anxius filii, tum poenitentia crudelitalis suae . . .' Cap. 54. 'Quum Amphipolim venisset, gravi morbo est implicitus. Sed animo tamen aegrum magis fuisse quam corpore constat: curisque et vigiliis, quum identidem species et umbrae insontis interempti filii agitarent, extinctum esse cum diris execrationibus alterius.' Cap. 56. Polybius does not bear out this statement. Speaking of the troubles and perturbations which closed in on Philip's later life, he remarks more generally, 'Εν τοιαύταις δ' οὔσης ἀτυχίαις καὶ ταραχαῖς τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς, τίς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ὑπολάβοι θεῶν τινων αὐτῷ μῆνιν εἰς τὸ γῆρας κατασκῆψαι διὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ προγεγονότι βίῳ παρανομίας. Lib. xxiv. cap. 8. Bacon may be assumed to be following Livy's account.

l. 33. *many like examples there are*] Bacon's examples appear to prove his point—that the entering by fathers into causeless suspicion of their children does not for the most part turn out fortunately. It is not so clear what good Bajazet or Henry the Second had from their reasonable distrust of 'sons who were up in open arms against them.' Selymus, the son of Bajazet the Second, having corrupted the soldiers and having been proclaimed Emperor by them in his father's stead, 'no lesse careful of the keeping of his estate, than he had before been for the obtaining of the same, . . . resolved most viper-like to kill his father. . . . The readiest and most secret way he could devise for the effecting of this his damnable device, was to worke it by poyson;' and this design he carried out by the agency of his father's chief physician. Knolles, Hist. of Turks, pp. 494–495.

Henry the Second, in the later years of his reign, was in almost constant trouble from the plots and insurrections of his sons, and he died worn-out and broken-hearted in consequence.

P. 134, l. 16. *more absolute, but less safe*] This was a warning given by James I to his son. 'He tutored his son the Prince . . . chiefly to take heed how he bandied to pluck down a peer of the realm by the arm of the Lower House; for the Lords were the hedge between himself and the people, and a breach made in that hedge might in time perhaps lay himself open.' Hacket, Life of Archbishop Williams, pt. i. p. 190.

l. 18. *I have noted it* &c.] Conf. 'He kept a strait hand on his nobility, and chose rather to advance clergymen and lawyers, which were more obsequious to him, but had less interest in the people: which made for his absoluteness but not for his safety. Insomuch as I am persuaded it was one of the causes of his troublesome reign. For that his nobles, though they were loyal and obedient, yet did not co-operate with him, but let every man go his own way.' Works, vi. p. 242.

l. 32. *vena porta*] 'La veine porte transmet au foie le sang qui revient de toute la portion sous-diaphragmatique du tube digestif, du pancreas et de la rate. . . . L'anatomie se trouve ici d'accord avec la physiologie expérimentale pour admettre que les éléments de leur sécrétion sont apportés aux lobules par la veine porte.' Sappey, Traité d'Anatomie Descriptive, vol. iv. pp. 338–340 (Paris, 1879).

'The Vena Portae,' says Carpenter, 'is formed by the convergence of the veins that return the blood from the chylo-poietic viscera.' Human Physiology, p. 434 (ninth edition, 1881).

In an earlier passage in the same book we read: 'We may consider the sanguiferous vessels then, as affording the usual channel by which a large part of the nutritive materials are introduced into the system; but these are not allowed to pass into the general current of the circulation, until they have been subjected to an important assimilating process, which it appears to be one great office of the liver to perform, whereby they are rendered more fit for the purposes they are destined to serve in the economy.' p. 184.

Mr. Ellis, in a note on this passage in the Essay, quoted by Mr. Spedding, writes: 'The metaphor is historically curious; for no one would have used it since the discovery of the circulation of the blood and of the lacteals. But in Bacon's time it was supposed that the chyle was taken up by the veins which converge to the *vena porta*. . . . Bacon's meaning therefore is that commerce concentrates the resources of a country in order to their redistribution,' &c. Works, vi. p. 422.

The above is a correct account of Bacon's meaning, but it is otherwise open to remark. The absorbents, of which the lacteals are a part, were observed by Caspar Aselli in 1622. 'When they were first discovered, and when their functional importance was perceived, it was imagined that the introduction of alimentary fluid into the vascular system took place by them alone. Such an idea, however, would be altogether inconsistent with the facts of comparative anatomy, and it is completely negatived by the results of experiment.' Human Physiology, p. 182.

It appears, therefore, *pace* Mr. Ellis, that the lacteals had been discovered in Bacon's day, but that the results of later investigation have left the old view as to the function of the *vena porta* substantially

untouched. Bacon therefore has lost nothing in this instance by being unacquainted with the scientific movement of his age.

The illustration is a favourite one with Bacon. Conf. e. g. 'Merchandising, which is the *vena porta* of wealth in a state.' Essay 41. And, 'Being a king that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick, nor any obstruction to continue in the gate-vein, which disperseth that blood.' Works, vi. 172.

P. 135, l. 2. *Taxes and imposts*] It is not clear from the text whether Bacon means to condemn direct taxes upon merchants, or indirect taxes upon imports. The Latin *vectigalia et portoria immodica* is in favour of the latter sense. So too, when in 1610, as King's Solicitor, he argues in support of the king's right of impositions, 'not, I say, touching any taxes within the land, but of payment at the ports,' he gives his hearers to understand that he does not therefore think these indirect taxes advisable; for he adds, presently, 'The question is *de vero et falso*, and not *de bono et malo*, of the legal point and not of the inconvenience.' Letters and Life, iv. p. 191.

l. 13. *Janizaries*] We have frequent instances of this in Knolles' Hist. of the Turks. Conf. 'About this time (i. e. circa 1360, in the reign of Amurath I), Zinderlu Chelil, then Cadalesher or chiefe Justice among the Turks, by the commandment of Amurath, took order, that every fifth captive of the Christians, being above fifteen yeres old, should be taken up for the King, as by law due unto him. . . . By which means great numbers of Christian youths were brought to the court as the king's captives, which by the counsell of the same Zinderlu Chelil, were distributed among the Turkish husbandmen in Asia, there to learn the Turkish language, religion, and manners, where after they had bin brought up in all painfull labour and travell by the space of two or three yeares, they were called unto the court, and choice made of the better sort of them to attend upon the person of the Prince, or to serve him in his wars; where they daily practising all feats of activity are called by the name of Janizars (that is to say, new soldiers). This was the first beginning of the Janizars under this Sultan, Amurath the first, but had great increase under Amurath the second, and hath ever since bin continued by the Turkish Kings and Emperors, by the same and some other greater means; so that in processe of time they be grown to that greatnes as that they are oftentimes right dreadful to the great Turke himselfe; after whose death they have sometime preferred to the Empire such of the Emperor's sons as they best liked, without respect of prerogative of age, contrary to the will of the great Sultan himself; and are at this day the greatest strength of the Turkish empire and not unlike in time to be the greatest cause of the ruine thereof.' p. 191.

Again, at the accession of Mahomet the Second,—'The Janizaries

also at the same time (according to their accustomed manner) took the spoile of the Christians and Jews that dwelt amongst them, and easily obtained pardon for the same: whereupon he was by the same Janizaries and other souldiers of the court, with great triumph saluted King. Which approbation of these men of war, is unto the Turkish Kings a greater assurance for the possession of their Kingdome, than to be borne the eldest son of the King, as in the processe of this History shall appeare; so great is the power of these masterfull slaves, in promoting to the kingdome whichsoever of the King's sons they most favour without much regard whether they be eldest or not.' p. 337.

'At the accession of Selymus the first—he gave unto the souldiers of the court two millions of duckats; and for a perpetuall remembrance of his thankfulnesse towards them, augmented their daily wages.' p. 499.

At the accession of Solyman the Magnificent (1520) 'the Janizaries disappointed by the Bassaes of the spoile of the merchants, especially Christians and Jewes, received of the bounty of Solyman a great largious; and in the beginning of his reigne had their accustomed wages somewhat augmented also, to their wonderfull contentment.' p. 568.

So, too, at the accession of Selymus the Second 'he gave to the Janizaries a largesse of 100000 Sultannies, with promise to augment their wages.' Shortly afterwards 'thinking to enter his palace, he was by the discontented Janizaries, but now come from the wars, prohibited so to do, they with great insolencie demanding of him a greater donative, together with a confirmation both of their ancient and new privileges. . . . With which so sudden and unexpected a mutiny of his best souldiers Selymus not a little troubled, and calling unto him the Aga or captain of the Janizaries, demanded of him the cause therof. Who with tears trickling down his cheeks for grief, told him it was for money. Which by Selymus now promised unto them, together with the confirmation of their liberties, . . . the mutiny was at length appeased, the insolent Janizaries again quieted.' p. 828.

Again, Amurath the Third, at his accession 'besides the usual larges which the Turkish Emperours at their first entrance into the empire bestow upon them, augmented also their daily wages.' p. 919.

Numerous other instances of their rapacity and turbulence occur in the course of the history.

l. 13. *Praetorian bands*] These were the body-guard of the Emperors. The custom for them 'to live and remain in a body' was introduced by Sejanus, in opposition to the rule followed in the reign of Augustus. 'Vim praefecturae modicam antea intendit, dispersas per urbem cohortes una in castra conducendo, ut simul

imperia acciperent, numeroque et robore et visu inter se fiducia ipsis, in ceteros metus cresceret.' Tacitus, Ann. iv. cap. 2. The expected result followed, but not with the advantage which Sejanus looked for to himself. Conf. e. g. 'Armatos pro concione jurare in nomen suum passus est: promisitque singulis quina dena sestertia, primus Caesarum fidem militis etiam praemio pigneratus.' Suetonius, Claudius, cap. 10. 'Illatusque castris Nero, et congruentia tempori praefatus, promisso donativo ad exemplum paternae largitionis, Imperator consalutatur.' Tacitus, Ann. xii. 69.

Galba's refusal to comply with this custom was a chief cause of his ruin; *vide* note on Essay 15, p. 110. Gibbon, in the fifth chapter of his Decline and Fall, gives the history of the Prætorians from their establishment under Augustus to their murder of the Emperor Pertinax and offer of the Empire by auction to the highest bidder.

l. 17. *Princes are like to heavenly bodies* &c.] Conf. 'Ex quo se Caesar orbi terrarum dedicavit, sibi eripuit: et siderum modo, quae irrequieta semper cursus suos explicant, nunquam illi licet nec subsistere, nec quicquam suum facere.' Seneca, Consol. ad Polybium, cap. 26 (p. 95, B). And, 'The Persian magic, which was the secret literature of their kings, was an observation of the contemplations of nature, and an application thereof to a sense politic . . . After this manner the aforesaid instructors set before their princes the example of the celestial bodies, the sun, the moon and the rest, which have great glory and veneration, but no rest or intermission: being in a perpetual office of motion for the cherishing, in turn and in course, of inferior bodies.' Letters and Life, iii. 90.

The Encyclopédie Dictionnaire, *sub voce* 'Perses,' gives what purports to be a translation of the will of Khosroës the Great, addressed to his son. The following is an extract from it:—

'Lorsqu'il aura fermé mes yeux, qui déjà ne peuvent pas soutenir la lumière du soleil, qu'il monte sur mon trône, et que delà il jette sur mes sujets une splendeur égale à celle de cet astre. Il doit se ressouvenir que les rois sont revêtus du pouvoir souverain, et qu'ils ne sont à l'égard du reste des hommes que comme le ciel est à l'égard de la terre. La terre produira-t-elle des fruits si le ciel ne l'arrose? . . . Voyez ce soleil; il part d'un bout du monde pour aller à l'autre; il se cache et se remontre ensuite; et s'il change de route tous les jours ce n'est que pour faire bien à tous . . . Il est toujours dans le ciel; soutenez la majesté royale; il marche toujours; soyez sans cesse occupé du soin du gouvernement.'

So in Plutarch, Life of Themistocles. Artabanus says, 'Amongst all the goodly lawes and customs we have, we esteeme this above the rest, to reverence and honour our king as the image of the God of nature who keepeth all things in their perfect life and state.' North's trans. p. 110.

XX.

OF COUNSEL.

THE greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel; for in other confidences men commit the parts of life; their lands, their goods, their children, their credit, some particular affair; but to such as they make their counsellors they commit the whole: by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel. God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son, *The Counsellor*. Salomon hath pronounced that *in counsel is stability*. Things will have their first or second agitation: if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune, and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Salomon's son found the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it: for the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel; upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned, that it was young counsel for the persons, and violent counsel for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with Kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by Kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth counsel; whereby they intend that sovereignty is married to counsel; the other, in that which followeth, which was thus: they say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with child; but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up: whereby he became himself with child, and

was delivered of Pallas armed, out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire, how Kings are to make use of their council of state: that first, they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their council, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their council to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world, that the decrees and final directions (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled to Pallas armed), proceeded from themselves; and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel, are three: first, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret; secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves; thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel than of him that is counselled; for which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy, and practice of France in some Kings' times, hath introduced cabinet councils[a]; a remedy worse than the disease.

As to secrecy; princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors, but may extract and select; neither is it necessary that he that consulteth what he

[a] *cabinet councils*] The sense in which these words are used is clear from the MS. of 1607–12, where after 'worse than the disease,' there follows (omitted in all the printed editions) 'which hath tourned Metis the wife, to Metis the Mistresse, that is the councelles of State to which Princes are solemnly marryed, to councells of gracious persons recommended cheifly by flattery and affection.' Arber's English Reprints, Harmony of the Essays, p. 318.

should do, should declare what he will do; but let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves: and, as for cabinet councils, it may be their motto, *Plenus rimarum sum:* one futile person[b], that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many, that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs, which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go[c] beyond one or two persons besides the King: neither are those counsels unprosperous; for, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction without distraction: but then it must be a prudent King, such as is able to grind with a hand-mill[d]; and those inward[e] counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the King's ends; as it was with King Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.

For weakening of authority; the fable[f] showeth the remedy: nay, the majesty of Kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of counsel; neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependencies[g] by his council, except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one counsellor, or an over strict combination in divers, which are things soon found and holpen[h].

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with

[b] *one futile person*] i. e. talkative. Vide Note on Essay 6. The Italian, which does not translate Essay 6, gives here *un cicalone.*

[c] *which will hardly go* &c.] The Latin—*qualis* (sc. *occultatio*) *non facile ultra notitiam unius aut duorum, praeter ipsum regem, excedet*—implies that the sense is—which (secrecy) will hardly be observed (if the affairs are known) by more than one or two, etc. A more obvious sense would be—which (affairs) can hardly with safety be made known to more than one or two, &c.

[d] *able to grind with a hand-mill*] i. e. able to conduct his own business. The Latin varies the metaphor—*proprio marte validus.*

[e] *inward*] i. e. intimate, confidential. Conf. 'A servant or favourite if he be inward.' Essay 11, and Note on passage.

[f] *the fable*] i. e. the story, given above, of Jupiter and Metis.

[g] *bereaved of his dependencies*] Lat. *auctoritate sua imminutum.*

[h] *holpen*] i. e. remedied. Lat. *sanantur.*

an eye to themselves; certainly, *non inveniet fidem super terram* is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful and sincere, and plain and direct, not crafty and involved: let princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another; so that if any do counsel out of faction[i] or private ends, it commonly comes to the King's ear: but the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors as well as their counsellors know them:

Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too speculative into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is, rather to be skilful in their master's business than in his nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of singular use to princes if they take the opinions of their council both separately and together; for private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend[k]. In private, men are more bold in their own humours; and in consort, men are more obnoxious to[l] others' humours; therefore it is good to take both; and of the inferior sort rather in private, to preserve freedom; of the greater rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for

[i] *out of faction* &c.] One of Blundevill's cautions shows exactly what this means. He gives among the marks to be looked for in a bad counsellor: 'Whyther he be factious, that is to say favouring and maintayning one part of the state more than another, as the Nobles more than the commons or contrarywise . . . which kinde of men are perilous in all commonwealthes. For so as their faction may stand, be it by right or by wrong, they care not what mischiefe they do, having no regard to the Commonwealth at al.' Blundevill, Of Counsell (ed. of 1570. The pages are not numbered).

[k] *more reverend*] The Latin gives *gravior*—a correct translation of the word. But it is clear, from the sentence which follows, that Bacon means here *reverent*, not *reverend*. The edition of 1612 reads *reverent*. The Italian translation of it is *riverente*.

[l] *obnoxious to*] i. e. somewhat subservient to, or liable to be influenced by. Conf. 'Somewhat obnoxious to him for his favours and benefits.' Works, vi. 64, and Mr. Spedding's Note on the word.

princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images: and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons: neither is it enough to consult concerning persons, *secundum genera*, as in an idea or mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is shown, in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, *Optimi consiliarii mortui;* books will speak plain when counsellors blanch[m]; therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.

The councils at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated; and they run too swift to the order or act of council. It were better that in causes of weight the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till the next day; *In nocte consilium:* so was it done in the commission of union between England and Scotland, which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions; for both it gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may *hoc agere*. In choice of committees for ripening business for the council, it is better to choose indifferent[n] persons, than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend also standing commissions; as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces; for where there be divers particular councils, and but one

[m] *blanch*] Lat. *in adulationem lapsuri sint.* Fr. *manqueront.* Ital. *quando gli conseglieri s' accommodano.* In Murray's New English Dictionary the word is said to be apparently worn down from blandish, and to approach in meaning some senses of blench, with which it was probably confounded. Blandish or blench will equally suit the text.

[n] *indifferent*] i. e. impartial, unaffected to either side. Lat. *qui aequi sint et in neutram partem propendeant.*

council of estate (as it is in Spain), they are, in effect, no more than standing commissions, save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform councils out of their particular professions (as lawyers, seamen, mintmen, and the like) be first heard before committees; and then, as occasion serves, before the council; and let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious [o] manner; for that is to clamour councils, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance; for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A King, when he presides in council, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for else counsellors will but take the wind of him [p], and instead of giving free counsel, will sing him a song of *placebo* [q].

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 147, l. 10. *The Counsellor*] Isaiah ix. 6.

l. 11. *in counsel is stability*] This is a loose quotation. The Authorized Version gives, 'Every purpose is established by counsel,' Proverbs xx. 18. The Vulgate is Cogitationes consiliis roborantur.

[o] *tribunitious*] i. e. after the fashion of the '*tribuni plebis*,' clamorous, disorderly, as their conduct is represented in Livy *passim*. Vide Note at end of Essay, p. 155.

[p] *will but take the wind of him*] Lat. *se ad nutum ejus applicabunt*. The metaphor seems to be the same as in the common phrase—will see which way the wind blows.

[q] *a song of placebo*] i. e. will follow his humour. For this phrase conf. the close of Bacon's speech on the General Naturalization of the Scottish Nation. 'Mr. Speaker, I have, I take it, gone through the parts which I propounded to myself, wherein if any man shall think that I have sung a *placebo* for mine own particular, I would have him know that I am not so unseen in the world but that I discern it were much alike for my private fortune to rest a *tacebo*, as to sing a *placebo* in this business; but I have spoken out of the fountain of my heart.' Letters and Life, iii. 325. The phrase is a humourous adaptation or perversion from the Roman office for the dead, which begins with *Placebo Domino*; then follows Ps. 114 (116 in the English version), in which the full text occurs (v. 9) *Placebo Domino in regione vivorum*. *Vide* Officium Defunctorum, in the Rituale Romanum Pauli V Jussu Editum, &c., pp. 160, 161. (Romae, 1847.)

l. 16. *Salomon's son*] 1 Kings chap. xii.

l. 23. *The ancient times*] 'The wisdom of the ancients' gives the same explanation as the text. Conf. Cap. xxx. Mêtis sive Consilium. Works, vi. p. 683.

P. 149, l. 4. *Plenus rimarum sum*]

> 'Quae vera audivi, taceo et contineo optume:
> Sin falsum aut vanum aut fictum est, continuo palam est:
> Plenus rimarum sum; hac atque illac perfluo.'
> Terence, Eunuchus, act. i. sc. 2. l. 23–25.

l. 15. *King Henry the Seventh*] 'About this time (i.e. about the end of 1485) the King called unto his Privy Counsel John Morton and Richard Foxe, the one Bishop of Ely, the other Bishop of Exeter; vigilant men and secret, and such as kept watch with him almost upon all men else.' Works, vi. 40. At the summing up at the end of the History, we find Morton and Sir Reignold Bray mentioned together as counsellors of ancient authority with the King, p. 240; and again, p. 242, Morton, Foxe, Bray and several others mentioned as serving him in his affairs, and as the ablest men that were then to be found.

P. 150, l. 1. *non inveniet fidem* &c.] It is clear from the concluding words of Essay 1 that Bacon is here referring to Luke xviii. 8.

l. 12. *Principis est virtus* &c.] Martial, Epigr. viii. 15, l. 8. The passage is quoted by Montaigne, with an added remark that it describes an excellence very rarely to be found; Essays, Bk. iii. chap. 8.

P. 151, l. 9. *It was truly said* &c.] This was a saying of Alonso or Alphonso of Aragon (1416–1458). Conf. 'Dezia el Rey don Alonso de Aragon que ninguno avia de tomar consejo con los vivos, si no con los muertos: entendiendo por los libros: porque sin amor ni temor siempre dizen la verdad.' Tuningius, Apophthegmata (ed. 1609), Hispanica, p. 34. And, 'Optimos consiliarios esse mortuos dicebat, libros videlicet designans, a quibus, sine metu sine gratia, quae nosse cuperet fideliter audiret.' Antonius Panormita, De dictis et factis Alphonsi Regis Aragonum, Lib. iii. cap. 1. We learn from other parts of the collection the exceeding value which Alphonso put upon books: 'Cum libris sub sponda solitum dormire regem scimus, experrectum illos cum lumine poscere ac lectitare. Ab his, quid sibi quid civibus conveniret edoceri potissimum aiebat.' Lib. iv. cap. 31. And again in cap. 34.

The saying is quoted in Bacon's 'Formularies and Elegancies,' Works, vii. 201, and is referred to in the 'Apophthegms' and explained as in the Essay: 'Alonso of Aragon was wont to say of himself *that he was a great necromancer, for that he used to ask counsel of the dead:* meaning books.' Works, vii. 140.

In the preface to the first English translation of the Decameron (1625), the saying is ascribed, somewhat incorrectly, to the Stoic philosopher, Zeno, who 'being demanded on a time by what means a man might attain to happiness, made answer: *By resorting to the dead and having familiar conversation with them.* Intimating thereby *the reading of ancient and modern Histories, and endeavouring to learn such good instructions as have been observed in our Predecessors.*' Diogenes Laertius, in his life of Zeno, gives the correct authority for it: *Ἑκάτων δέ φησι καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τύριος . . . χρηστηριαζομένου αὐτοῦ τί πράττων ἄριστα βιώσεται, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν θεόν, εἰ συγχρωτίζοιτο τοῖς νεκροῖς. Ὅθεν συνέντα, τὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀναγινώσκειν.* Lib. vii. sec. 2.

l. 17. *It were better*] Conf. Bacon's Advice to Villiers: 'I do heartily wish that the Councillors themselves would be so advised in their resolutions that they should never be sudden, but that all things there propounded and debated one day, should be revised the next, and then confirmed or altered upon second thoughts.' Letters and Life, vi. 19.

l. 19. *In nocte consilium*] Gaisford, in the Paroemiographi Graeci, gives several proverbs to this effect. *Ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή: Παροιμία εἴρηται ἐπειδὴ ἡσυχίαν ἡ νὺξ ἔχει καὶ δίδωσι τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων βουλευομένοις σχολήν.* Prov. e Cod. Bodleiano, 359.

Κατὰ ποδὸς βάσιν: Ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ μικρόν τι πραττόντων καὶ μετὰ τέχνης. Ὁμοία τῇ, Ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή. Prov. Diogeniani, Cent. v. 95.

Ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή: Ἡ παροιμία οὕτως εἴρηται, ἐπειδὴ ἡσυχίαν ἔχει ἡ νὺξ καὶ δίδωσι κατὰ σχολὴν λογισμοὺς κ.τ.λ. Prov. Zenobii, Cent. iii. 97.

Erasmus, in the Adagia, sub titulo *In nocte Consilium*, explains the proverb as above, and adds, 'Praeterea, saepenumero fit, ut somnus sedata cupiditate pristinam sententiam vertat. Unde etiam vulgo dicitur ab idiotis nostratibus, super hac re indormiam: ubi significant se per ocium deliberaturos.' Chiliadis Secundae Cent. ii. 43.

To the same effect is the common French proverb: *La nuit porte conseil.*

l. 19. *so was it done*] Conf. Journal of the Proceedings of the Commission: 'Agreed by a full consent that every time of assembly, after the matters concluded at that sitting, there shall be propositions made of such particular questions and matters as shall be debated at the next sitting.' Letters and Life, iii. 241.

l. 22. *set days*] This is Bacon's Advice to Villiers: 'When suitors come to you, set apart a certain hour in the day to give them audience.' Letters and Life, vi. 29.

l. 24. *hoc agere*] i. e. give sole attention to the business in hand. Torrentius, in a note on *hoc age* in Suetonius, Caligula, cap. 58, says: 'Quod (teste Plutarcho vita Coriolani) magna praeconis voce in sacris usurpari solet. *Hoc age* in proverbium ad res alias quoque abiisse videtur, cum attentionem imperamus.' Tertullian, lib. iv. adversus

Marcionem: 'Ut dici solet, ad quod venimus, *hoc age*.' The passage in Plutarch is—'When the magistrates, bishops, priests, or other religious ministers go about any divine service or matter of religion, an herald ever goeth before them, crying out aloud, *Hoc age:* as to say, do this or mind this. Hereby they are specially commanded wholly to dispose themselves to serve God, leaving all other business and matters aside.' Lives, North's trans. p. 234.

Conf. also, e. g. 'hoc agam,' Terence, Andria, ii. 5, l. 4. The phrase is of frequent occurrence.

P. 152, l. 1. *as it is in Spain*] Conf. 'The King of Spain for the government of his dominions hath seven councils; viz. the council of the Indies, the council of Spain, the council of Italy and the Low Countries, the council of war, the council of orders, the council of inquisition, the council royal.' Ralegh, The Cabinet Council, cap. viii.

l. 7. *tribunitious*] Conf., e. g., 'Loquaces, seditiosos, semina discordiarum, iterum ac tertium tribunos pessimis artibus regia licentia vivere.' Livy iii. 19. 'Negabant consules jam ultra ferri posse furores tribunicios. Ventum jam ad finem esse: domi plus belli concitari quam foris.' iv. 2. 'Si unquam dubitatum est, Quirites, utrum tribuni plebis vestra an sua causa seditionum semper auctores fuerint,' &c. v. 3. 'Seditionum omnium causa Tribunicia potestas.' Florus, Epitome, iii. 13.

l. 13. *A King, when he presides* &c.] Conf. 'Quotiens una cum senioribus tuis de re graviore deliberas, cave tuam intelligant voluptatem, ne forte cupiditatem tuam potius quam utilitatem et dignitatem consulendo sequantur.' Ficinus, Epist. de institutione Principis, Opera, vol. i. p. 797 (Basileae, 1576).

This is the rule of conduct which Bacon, in his private diary, lays down for himself, not only with the King, but with any others whom he supposed it for his interest to please: 'At Counsel table cheefly to make good my L. of Salsb. mocions and speaches, and for the rest some tymes one, sometymes another; cheefly his y^{t} is most earnest and in affection.' Letters and Life, iv. 93.

XXI.

OF DELAYS.

FORTUNE is like the market, where many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall; and again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's offer, which at first offereth the com-

modity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the price; for occasion (as it is in the common verse) *turneth a bald noddle after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken;* or, at least, turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly, which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light; and more dangers have deceived men than forced them [a]: nay, it were better to meet some dangers half-way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches; for if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long shadows (as some have been when the moon was low, and shone on their enemies' back), and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach dangers to come on by over early buckling towards them [b], is another extreme. The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argus with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus with his hundred hands; first to watch and then to speed; for the helmet of Pluto, which maketh the politic man [c] go invisible, is secrecy in the counsel, and celerity in the execution; for when things are once come to the execution, there is no secrecy comparable to celerity; like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

[a] *than forced them*] The Latin gives the sense more clearly than the English—*plura pericula fefellerunt quam vim intulerunt.*

[b] *by over early buckling towards them*] The meaning is uncertain. The corresponding passage in the Antitheta gives, *Docet periculum progredi qui accingitur, et periculum figit remedio.* Works, i. 705. Buckling towards them may, therefore, be = buckling on his armour to go and meet them. The Latin version of the Essay gives *premature obviando*, which points rather to another word used in what seems to be its proper original sense—beginning to move towards.

[c] *the politic man*] i. e. the politician. Lat. *politicum.*

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 156. l. 2. *occasion*] Conf. 'Apud Graecos mas est hic deus, appellaturque καιρός. Ejus simulacrum ad hunc modum fingebat antiquitas,—Volubili rotae pennatis insistens pedibus, vertigine quam citissima semet in orbem circumagit, priore capitis parte capillis hirsuta, posteriore glabra, ut illa facile prehendi queat, hac nequeat. Unde dictum est, occasionem arripere. Ad quod erudite simul et eleganter allusit quisquis is fuit qui versiculum hunc conscripsit,

"Fronte capillata, post haec Occasio calva."'

Erasmi Adagia, sub tit. 'Nosce tempus.'

'Cursu volucri pendens, in novacula,
Calvus comosa fronte, nudo corpore,
Quem si occupâris teneas; elapsum semel
Non ipse possit Jupiter reprehendere:
Occasionem rerum significat brevem.'

Phaedrus, Fables, lib. v. fab. 8.

Τίς, πόθεν ὁ πλάστης; Σικυώνιος. οὔνομα δὴ τί;
Λύσιππος. σὺ δέ, τίς; Καιρὸς ὁ πανδαμάτωρ.
Ἥ δὲ κόμη, τί κατ' ὄψιν; ὑπαντιάσαντι λαβέσθαι,
Νὴ Δία. τἀξόπιθεν δ' εἰς τί φαλακρὰ πέλει;
Τὸν γὰρ ἅπαξ πτηνοῖσι παραθρέξαντά με ποσσὶν
Οὔτις ἔθ' ἱμείρων δράξεται ἐξόπιθεν.

To a statue of Occasion. Brunck's Anthologia Graeca, ii. 49.

'Yceulx je suis dadvyz que nous poursuyvons, ce pendant que lheur est pour nous: car loccasion ha tous ses cheveulx on front; quand elle est oultrepassee, vous ne la pouvez plus revocquer: elle est chaulve par le derriere de la teste, et jamais plus ne retourne. Rabelais, Gargantua, i. cap. 37.

'Pingi solet et recte Occasio, foemina, alata, occipitio calva, sphaerulae insidens quod nequeat apud aliquem diu manere. . . . et ideo moliri semper novi aliquid oportet, et nunquam fidere praeteritis, Senescunt humana omnia.' Cardan, De Sapientia, lib. iii.

l. 14. *as some have been when the moon was low* &c.] Conf. 'Because the Moon was very low, the shadow which gave out further far than their bodies, came almost even to their very enemies, which did let them (i. e. the soldiers of Mithridates) that they could not certainly judge what space of ground was between them, but imagining that they were hard by them, they cast their darts at the Romans, but they hurt never a man, for their bodies were a great way from them.' Plutarch, Lives (Pompeius), p. 647.

l. 23. *helmet of Pluto*] Conf. 'Galea Plutonis (quae homines invisibiles reddere solebat) manifesta parabola est. Nam consiliorum occultatio, post celeritatem, maximi ad bellum est momenti. Cujus etiam celeritas ipsa pars magna est. Celeritas enim consiliorum evulgationem praevertit.' Works, i. 533.

XXII.

OF CUNNING.

We take cunning for a sinister, or crooked wisdom; and certainly there is great difference between a cunning man and a wise man, not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in canvasses[a] and factions, that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours that are not greatly capable of the real part of business; which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice[b] than for counsel, and they are good but in their own alley: turn them to new men, and they have lost their aim; so as the old rule, to know a fool from a wise man, *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos et videbis*, doth scarce hold for them; and, because these cunning men are like haberdashers[c] of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with whom you speak with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept; for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances: yet this would be done[d] with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

[a] *canvasses*] here probably 'intrigues.' The French gives *practiques*; the Latin *competitionibus*. Conf. 'Also that there be no brigues nor canvasses, whereof I hear too much.' Letters and Life, iv. 372.

[b] *practice*] i. e. trickery, the usual sense with Bacon.

[c] *haberdashers*] i. e. small dealers in various kinds of goods. Lat. *similes sunt pusillarum mercium propolis*. Conf.

'What mean dull souls in this high measure
To haberdash
In earth's base wares?'

Quarles' Emblems, bk. ii. Emb. 5, l. 37. So, in Cotgrave's Dict. *mercier* is translated—a good pedler or mean haberdasher of small wares.

[d] *would be done*] i. e. ought to be done. So *passim*.

Another is, that when you have anything to obtain of present dispatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse, that he be not too much awake to make objections. I knew a counsellor and secretary that never came to Queen Elizabeth of England with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some discourse of estate, that she might the less mind the bills.

The like surprise may be made by moving things when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

If a man would cross a business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself in such sort as may foil it.

The breaking off in the midst of that one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater appetite in him with whom you confer to know more.

And because it works better when anything seemeth to be gotten from you by question than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question, by showing another visage and countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occasion for the party to ask what the matter is of the change? as Nehemias did, *And I had not before that time been sad before the king.*

In things that are tender[e] and unpleasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech; as Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silius.

In things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the

[e] *tender*] i.e. that need delicate handling. Conf. 'Surely, princes had need in tender matters and ticklish times to beware what they say.' Essay 15.

world; as to say, *The world says*, or *There is a speech abroad.*

I knew one that when he wrote a letter he would put that which was most material in the postscript, as if it had been a by-matter.

I knew another that when he came to have speech he would pass over that that he intended most: and go forth and come back again, and speak of it as of a thing that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves to be surprised at such times as it is like the party that they work upon will suddenly come upon them, and to be found with a letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed; to the end they may be apposed of[f] those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of cunning to let fall these words in a man's own name, which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were competitors for the secretary's place, in Queen Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good quarter[g] between themselves, and would confer one with another upon the business; and the one of them said, that to be a secretary in the declination of a monarchy was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it: the other straight caught up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends, that he had no reason to desire to be secretary in the declination of a monarchy. The first man took hold of it, and found means it was told the queen; who, hearing of a declination of a monarchy, took it so ill, as she would never after hear of the other's suit.

[f] *may be apposed of*] i. e. may be questioned about. Lat. *ut interrogentur de.* Conf. 'Let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a poser.' Essay 32.

[g] *kept good quarter*] i. e. kept on good terms. Lat. *se invicem amice tractabant.* The nearest parallel that I can find for this use is where Iago speaks of Cassio, Roderigo, and Montano as 'friends . . . in quarter,' meaning apparently that they were on friendly terms with one another; Othello, act ii. sc. 3.

There is a cunning, which we in England call *the turning of the cat in the pan*[h]; which is, when that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him; and, to say truth, it is not easy, when such a matter passed between two to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have, to glance and dart at others by justifying themselves by negatives; as to say, *This I do not;* as Tigellinus did towards Burrhus, *Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem imperatoris simpliciter spectare.*

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, as there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a tale; which serveth both to keep themselves more in guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure[i].

It is a good point of cunning for a man to shape the answer he would have in his own words and propositions; for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say; and how far about they will fetch, and how many other matters they will beat over to come near it: it is a thing of great patience, but yet of much use.

[h] *turning of the cat* &c. The meaning which Bacon gives to this phrase is shown by his own explanation of it. The Latin renders it by *Felem in aheno vertere*, and adds, appositely enough, *satis absurde dicitur*. It was not always used in the same sense—in the song e. g. of the Vicar of Bray it means to become a turncoat:

'When George at pudding time came o'er,
And moderate men look'd big, sirs;
I turned the cat in the pan once more
And straight became a Whig, sirs.'

The construction of the words is uncertain, since *turn* may be either active or neuter, and the derivation is not known. Johnson's Dictionary (Latham's edition) refers to it *sub voce* 'cat,' but adds that it has probably no connexion with cat as an English word at all, but is a mistaken transformation of some misunderstood foreign term.

[i] *carry it with more pleasure*] i. e. probably, bear it or put up with it, where they would be displeased at a more direct statement. The Latin, however, gives *rem ipsam majore cum voluptate spargi efficiunt.*

A sudden, bold, and unexpected question doth many times surprise a man, and lay him open. Like to him, that, having changed his name, and walking in Paul's, another suddenly came behind him and called him by his true name, whereas straightways he looked back.

But these small wares and petty points of cunning are infinite, and it were a good deed to make a list of them; for that nothing doth more hurt in a state than that cunning men pass for wise.

But certainly some there are that know the resorts and falls[k] of business that cannot sink into the main of it; like a house that hath convenient stairs and entries, but never a fair room: therefore you shall see them find out pretty looses in the conclusion, but are noways able to examine or debate matters: and yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather upon the abusing[l] of others, and (as we now say) *putting tricks upon them*, than upon soundness of their own proceedings: but Salomon saith, *Prudens advertit ad gressus suos: stultus divertit ad dolos.*

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

P. 158, l. 4. *can pack the cards* &c.] Conf.

'Thy cunning can but pack the cards,
Thou cans't not play.'

Quarles' Emblems, Bk. ii. Emb. 5, l. 23.

l. 13. *in their own alley*] A metaphor from the game of bowls, as elsewhere. Conf. 'False and corrupt servants; which set a bias upon their bowl,' Essay 23; and in notes for advice to Buckingham: 'You bowl well, if you do not horse your bowl an hand too much.

[k] *resorts and falls* &c.] For an explanation of this passage, *vide* Notes and Illustrations to Essay.

[l] *abusing*] i. e. deceiving, Lat. *innituntur dolis quos aliis struunt.* Conf. 'The experience of age, in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them, but in new things, abuseth them.' Essay 42. 'The more subtile sort of them' (i. e. of fallacies) 'doth not only put a man besides his answer, but doth many times abuse his judgment.' Works, iii. 393.

You know the fine bowler is knee almost to ground in the delivery of the cast.' Letters and Life, vii. 445.

l. 15. *Mitte ambos* &c.] Quoted, in the Apophthegms New and Old, as a saying of 'one of the philosophers.' Works, vii. 161.

Diogenes Laertius ascribes it to Aristippus: *Ἐρωτηθείς ποτε τίνι διαφέρει ὁ σοφὸς τοῦ μὴ σοφοῦ; ἔφη, Εἰς ἀγνῶτας τοὺς δύο γυμνοὺς ἀπόστειλον, καὶ εἴσῃ.* Lib. ii. sec. 73.

l. 21. *many wise men* &c.] 'The discovery of a man's self by the tracts of his countenance is a great weakness and betraying.' Essay 6, and note.

l. 23. *demure abasing of your eye*] Conf. 'Le chapitre des *Regulae Modestiae* est particulièrement curieux. Le membre de l'Ordre ne doit pas remuer la tête de côté et d'autre, mais la porter avec gravité, et s'il n'y a pas de raison pour bouger, il doit la tenir droite, un peu inclinée en avant. Il a habituellement les yeux baissés.' Scherer, Études sur la Littérature Contemporaine, vii. p. 299: where he refers to Ravignan, De l'existence et l'institut des jésuites.

P. 159, l. 13. *let him pretend*] Conf. 'Some undertake suits with a full purpose to let them fall: to the end to gratify the adverse party, or competitor.' Essay 49.

l. 24. *as Nehemias did*] Nehemiah, cap. ii. v. 1. But we are not told that this was an artifice on Nehemiah's part.

l. 30. *as Narcissus did* &c.] Messalina, the wife of the Emperor Claudius, had gone through the form of a regular marriage with Silius, her paramour. Narcissus, a freedman of the Emperor, wishing to make the fact known to him, 'duas pellices . . . largitione ac promissis . . . perpulit delationem subire. Exin Calpurnia (id pellici nomen), ubi datum secretum, Caesaris genibus provoluta nupsisse Messalinam Silio exclamat. Simul Cleopatram, quae idem opperiens adstabat, an comperisset interrogat, atque illa adnuente cieri Narcissum postulat. Is veniam in praeteritum petens,' &c. Tac. Annals, xi. 29, 30.

P. 160, l. 18. *I knew two* &c.] Mr. Wright accepts a suggestion from Mr. Spedding, that the two here referred to were probably Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Thomas Bodley. That they were competitors for the secretary's place in the later part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, is certain; and since Cecil was the successful competitor, it is he who must have played the trick, if Bacon's story is to be believed. But we have abundant proof that Bacon was neither tender nor just to the memory of his 'little cousin.' Conf. Essay 44.

P. 161, l. 9. *as Tigellinus did* &c.] The words are—'Non se, ut Burrum, diversas spes, sed solam incolumitatem Neronis spectare.' Tacitus, Ann. xiv. 57. But this was said after the death of Barrus, and not therefore *at* Barrus, as Bacon seems to imply.

P. 162, l. 3. *walking in Paul's*] St. Paul's Cathedral was used in

Bacon's day as a general promenade and place of business and assignation. Conf. 'It hapened that upon some bloodshed in the church of Paul's, according to the canon law yet with us in force, the said church was interdicted, and so the gates shut up for some few days; whereupon they published that—because the said church is a place where people use to meet to walk and confer—the Queen's Majesty, after the manner of the ancient tyrants, had forbidden all assemblies and meetings of people together, and for that reason upon extreme jealousy did cause Paul's gates to be shut up.' Letters and Life, i. 207.

In Ben Jonson's 'Every man out of his humour,' Act iii, the opening scene is laid in the middle aisle of Paul's, and a lively picture is presented of the use to which the place was put. It was a customary place for hiring servants; so Falstaff says of Bardolph: 'I bought him in Paul's and he'll buy me a horse in Smithfield.' 2 Henry IV, act i. sc. 2.

Conf. also: 'My last to you was of the fourth or fifth of this present, since which time there hath been a very dull and dead term, or else I am quite out of the trade, which may well be, by reason of a new devised order to shut the upper doors in Paul's in service time, whereby the old intercourse is clean changed, and the traffic of news much decayed.' Chamberlain to Carleton, Nov. 19, 1602.

Earle, in his Microcosmographie, chap. 52, headed 'Paul's Walk,' describes the cathedral at length as a 'heap of stones and men, and were the Steeple not sanctified nothing liker Babel. It is the great exchange of all discourse, and no business whatsoever but is here stirring and afoot. It is the Synod of all pates politic . . . It is the general mint of all famous lies, which are here like the legends of Popery, first coined and stamped in the Church . . . The visitants are all men without exceptions, but the principal inhabitants and possessors are stale knights, captains out of service, men of long rapiers and breeches which after all turn merchants here, and traffic for news. Some make it a preface to their dinner, and travell for a stomacke, but thriftier men make it their ordinary and board here very cheap.'

Conf. also: 'Early in the sixteenth century St. Paul's had been desecrated to such an extent as to become known rather as an exchange and house of merchandise than as a Church. Its central aisle, says Bishop Earle, resounded to a kind of still roar or loud whisper. The south alley, writes Decker in 1607, was the place for usury and popery, the north for simony, the horse-fair in the midst for all kind of bargains, meetings, brawlings, murders, conspiracies, and the font for ordinary payments of money . . . The middle aisle of the nave, called Paul's Walk or Duke Humphrey's walk, from the tomb there, was the fashionable promenade of London, and Paul's Walkers was the popular name for young men about town.' More

is added or quoted to the same effect. Augustus Hare, Walks in London (1878), vol. i. p. 133. Conf. also Milman's Annals of St. Paul's, p. 284 et seqq.

l. 10. *resorts and falls*] For the sense of *resorts* in this very obscure passage, conf. 'Such histories do rather set forth the pomp of business than the true inward resorts thereof.' Works, iii. 334. In this passage, as in the text, *resorts* may stand for the springs or movements of the machinery, a sense which is borne out by the French trans. *les ressorts.* If *resorts* then are the springs or starting-points of the business, *falls* will be the conclusion of it, in which the persons here spoken of are said to find out pretty looses—a phrase to which we shall presently return. For *falls* the French trans. gives *issues.* The *main of business* is certainly the body or solid part—a term in frequent use with Bacon. Conf. e. g. 'I have broken the main of the Parliament business into questions and parts, which I send.' Letters and Life, vii. 155.

We may look next at the simile which immediately follows. The house has convenient stairs and entries, that is to say there is a convenient way in, out, and about. These stairs and entries clearly correspond to the *resorts and falls*, so that those who know the resorts and falls must, if the simile is pressed, be taken to know their way into, out of, and about the business. But the house has never a fair room or resting place, thus illustrating the defect of those who cannot sink into the main of business, or, in other words, cannot examine or debate matters at due length.

l. 14. *Looses* are lettings go, used especially of letting go a bow-string or launching a dart. Conf. 'Air open and at large maketh no noise except it be sharply percussed; as in the sound of a string, where air is percussed by a hard and stiff body, and with a sharp loose; for if the string be not strained it maketh no noise.' Works, ii. 391. And, 'In throwing a dart or javelin, we force back our arms to make our loose the stronger.' Ben Jonson, Discoveries, under heading *De stylo et optimo scribendi genere.* To find pretty looses in the conclusion should mean therefore to deliver good shots. It is a variant of knowing the falls of business. The Latin gives *commodos quosdam exitus reperire.*

l. 16. *wits of direction*] i. e. Intellects specially fitted to direct and decide matters. Lat. *ingenia quae ad decernendum potius quam disputandum sint aptiora.*

Bacon clearly intends to depreciate those whom he is describing; hurriedness of judgment and a superficial show of ability to settle matters off-hand being the defects which he intends to fix upon them. But his chief simile is a bad one. There can be no great resemblance between a house with fair rooms, in which the inmate is to stay, and a debate on business, in which the object of the debaters is to

proceed: so that the fault corresponding to the absence of a fair room is nothing to the matter in hand. Bacon really speaks as if deliberating were an end in itself,—a thing to be undertaken at due length and with due attention on its own account, and not on account of the better judgment which we may think likely to come of it. But in a piece of writing where one metaphor of uncertain meaning is heaped upon another, and where the whole is confused by a faulty simile, it is not easy to fix the sense with any precision. I have done the best I can with it,—the best that its want of exactness and the affected obscurity of its language have allowed me to do. If I am wrong in my interpretation I am in good company, for of the three contemporary translations, the Latin, the French, and the Italian, no two agree, so that at least two of them must be in error.

Resorts and falls.	*Lat.*	periodos et pausas.
	Fr.	les ressorts et issues.
	It.	le riuscite e le cadute.
Pretty looses.	*Lat.*	commodos quosdam exitus.
	Fr.	quelques evasions mignardes.
	It.	ingegnosi modi di scansare.
Wits of direction.	*Lat.*	ingenia quae ad decernendum quam ad disputandum sint aptiora.
	Fr.	l'esprit et la subtilité mesme en toute direction.
	It.	ingegni di gran negotianti.

l. 20. *Salomon saith*] These words are quoted and amplified in the De Aug. Scient., Works, i. p. 766. Conf. also: 'All the world noted Sir Nicholas Bacon to be a man plain, direct, and constant, without all fineness or doubleness; and one that was of the mind that a man in his private proceedings, and a state in the proceedings of state, should rest upon the soundness and strength of their own courses, and not upon practice to circumvent others; according to the sentence of Salomon, "Vir prudens advertit ad gressus suos, stultus autem divertit ad dolos."' Letters and Life, i. 202.

The sentence ascribed to Solomon seems to be made up of two verses in the Proverbs very loosely quoted:

'Sapientia callidi est intelligere viam suam: et imprudentia stultorum errans.' xiv. 8.

'Astutus considerat gressus suos.' v. 15.

XXIII.

OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF.

An ant is a wise creature for itself, but it is a shrewd[a] thing in an orchard or garden: and certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between self-love and society; and be so true to thyself as thou be not false to others, specially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, himself. It is right earth[b]; for that only stands fast upon his own centre; whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens move upon the centre of another, which they benefit. The referring of all to a man's self is more tolerable in a sovereign prince, because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune; but it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic; for whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends, which must needs be often eccentric to the ends of his master or state: therefore let princes or states choose such servants as have not this mark; except they mean their service should be made but the accessary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious is, that all proportion is lost; it were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before the master's; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against a great good of the master's: and yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants; which set a bias upon their bowl of their own petty ends and envies,

[a] *shrewd*] i. e. evil, pernicious. Lat. *nocivum*. Fr. *une chose pernicieuse*. Conf.

'There are some shrewd contents in yon same paper
That steal the colour from Bassanio's cheek.'
Merchant of Venice, i. 3.

'Ah! foul shrewd news, beshrew thy very heart.'
King John, v. 5.

[b] *It is right earth*] Lat. *recte terrestrem naturam sapit.*

to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs: and for the most part the good such servants receive is after the model[c] of their own fortune; but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune: and certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set a house on fire, and it were[d] but to roast their eggs; and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing: it is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall: it is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger who digged and made room for him: it is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are *sui amantes, sine rivali*, are many times unfortunate; and whereas they have all their time sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned[e].

Notes and Illustrations.

On the early part of this Essay conf. 'There is another part of this part which differeth as much from that whereof we have spoken as *sapere* and *sibi sapere*, the one moving as it were to the circumference,

[c] *the model*] i. e. scale or measure. Conf. 'According to my small model.' Essay 3, and note.

[d] *and it were*] i. e. 'an or if it were.' So Bacon begins some of his speeches: 'And it please you, Mr. Speaker.' Letters and Life, ii. 85; iii. 335. Conf. also, 'Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation.' Essay 40.

[e] *to have pinioned*] i. e. to have clipped, if we follow the Latin, *praecidisse*. But the more common sense of the word is—to have tied down—a sense equally well suited to the text. Conf. e. g.

> 'Go, seek the traitor Gloster,
> Pinion him like a thief, bring him before us.'
>
> King Lear, iii. 7.

And,

> 'Master Ford, you are not to go loose any longer; you must be pinioned.'
>
> Merry Wives of Windsor, iv. 2.

the other to the centre. For there is a wisdom of counsel, and again there is a wisdom of pressing a man's own fortune; and they do sometimes meet, and often sever. For many are wise in their own ways that are weak for government or counsel; like ants, which is a wise creature for itself, but very hurtful for the garden.' Works, iii. 454.

P. 167, l. 7. *that only stands fast upon his own centre*] This is Bacon's repeatedly expressed belief. Conf. De Aug. Scient. bk. iii: 'Motum terrae diurnum, quod nobis constat falsissimum esse.' Works, i. p. 552; and bk. iv: 'Constat similiter sententiam Copernici de Rotatione Terrae . . . ab Astronomicis Principiis non posse revinci: a Naturalis tamen Philosophiae principiis, recte positis, posse.' Works, i. p. 580. The subject is discussed at length in the Descriptio Globi Intellectualis, Works, iii. 740 et seq., and in the Thema Coeli: 'Terrâ itaque stante (id enim nunc nobis videtur verius), manifestum est coelum motu diurno circumferri,' &c. Works, iii. 773.

l. 9. *which they benefit*] Conf. de Aug. Scient. vii. 2: 'Etenim in universitate rerum, natura coelestis praecipue agens est, at natura terrestris patiens.' Works, i. 722. And, 'Magnitudo inferiorum non habet comparationem ad coelestia, similiter nec utilitas. Quia tota utilitas inferiorum causatur ex superioribus. Duplex enim allatio solis sub obliquo circulo cum aspectibus planetarum est causa omnium quae fiunt hic inferius.' R. Bacon, Opus Majus, p. 112, Jebb's edition, folio.

l. 26. *set a bias upon their bowl*] The bias is a piece of lead inserted at one side of the bowl and deflecting it from the straight course. Conf.

'Madam we'll play at bowls:
Queen. t'will make me think
The world is full of rubs, and that my fortune
Runs 'gainst the bias.' Richard II, iii. 4.

And, 'O thou! of business the directing soul
To this our head, like bias to the bowl.
Which, as more ponderous, makes its aim more true,
Obliquely waddling to the mark in view.'
Dunciad, i. 169.

P. 168, l. 12. *wisdom of rats*] Lat. *soricum*. Conf. 'When an house is readie to tumble down, the mice goe out of it before; and first of all the spiders with their webs fall down.' Pliny, N. H. bk. viii. cap. 28: 'Ubi domus aliqua consenuit et ruinam minatur, mures primi sentiunt, et celerrime fugientes aliud domicilium quaerunt.' Gesner, Hist. Animalium, vol. i. p. 716. De Mure, sec. D. ed. 2nd, fol. 1620. Gesner includes the 'rattus' under the generic name—'mus.'

l. 14. *of the fox*] '(Vulpes) habitat in foveis, quas ipsa tamen non

parat, sed à taxo, id est mele, effossas, dolo occupat. Illo enim absente, aditum suum excremento inquinat. Reversus ille, foedi odoris impatiens, foveam suam deserit, quam mox vulpes inhabitat.' Gesner, Hist. Animalium, vol. i. p. 957. De Vulpe, sec. D. ed. 2nd, fol. 1620.

Buffon confirms this. Conf. 'Le blaireau . . . a plus de facilité qu'un autre pour ouvrir la terre, y fouiller, y pénétrer, et jeter derrière lui les déblais de son excavation, qu'il rend tortueuse, oblique, et qu'il pousse quelquefois fort loin. Le renard, qui n'a pas la même facilité pour creuser la terre, profite de ses travaux: ne pouvant le contraindre par la force, il l'oblige par l'adresse à quitter son domicile en l'inquiétant, en faisant sentinelle à l'entrée, en l'infectant même de ses ordures; ensuite il s'en empare, l'élargit, l'approprie, et en fait son terrier.' Histoire Naturelle, Animaux Carnassiers, Le blaireau.

l. 15. *of crocodiles*] Those who are curious about this mediæval myth will find a very full account of it in a tract entitled 'Disputatio Physica de lacrymis crocodili quam publice submittit praeses M. Gothofredus Voigt, respondente Joachimo Dornero' (1666). I extract the following: 'Objiciunt autem vulgatum illud proverbium: *lacrymae crocodili.* Cui addunt alii emblemata varia. Sic *Aresius* haeredem avidum, sed mortem defuncti lugentem, descripturus, crocodilum hominem devorantem pingit, hoc addito lemmate: *plorat et devorat.* Vid. *Masenius*, Spec. Imaginum verit. occult. l. 5, c. 9, p. 504, n. 22. *Camerarius* Cent. iv. Embl. 67 eodem utitur in amico fucato delineando, cum hac epigraphe:

Non equidem ambigui dictis mihi fidere amici
Certum est, ut lacrymis nec crocodile tuis.

Pertinent huc *comparationes a lacrymis crocodili* ductae, de quibus vid. *Piccartus* Dec. xiii. c. 1. *Drexel*, in Phaeth. c. 46, in Aurifod, part 2, c. 4: "Itemque *hieroglyphica*, schemate crocodili hypocritam delineantia." Vid. *Pierius* in Hieroglyph. miscell. p. 118.' I have not verified the above references.

The myth appears in a variety of different forms, sometimes as sober matter of fact, sometimes as an illustration. Conf. e. g. 'Si aliquando inveniat hominem, comedit eum si vincere potest, et postea eum semper plorat.' Hugo de S. Victore, *De Bestiis*, lib. ii. cap. 8.

'Gloster's show
Beguiles him, as the mournful crocodile
With sorrow snares relenting passengers.'
2 Henry VI, iii. 1.

'It is written that the crocodile will weep over a man's head when he hath devoured the body, and then he will eat up the head too. Wherefore in Latin there is a proverbe: crocodili lachrymae, to

signify such tears as are fained and spent only with intent to deceive or do harm.' Bullokar, English Expositor; sub voce *crocodile.*

'The crocodile's tears are never true, save when he is forced where saffron groweth . . . knowing himself to be all poison and it all antidote.' Fuller, Worthies, vol. i. p. 493 (ed. in 3 vols., London, 1840). 'It not only eats men, whom it weeps to see approaching, and then devours them (from whence comes that proverb, a Crocodile's Tears), but also other creatures whose fate it is to come near the river.' Baumgarten's Travels, bk. i. cap. 16.

It is given in the Erasmi Adagia sub tit. *Crocodili lachrymae:* and is explained, 'de iis qui sese simulant graviter angi incommodo cujuspiam, cui perniciem attulerint ipsi, cuive magnum aliquod malum moliantur. Sunt qui scribant crocodilum, conspecto procul homine, lachrymas emittere atque eundem mox devorare . . . Alii narrant hanc esse crocodili naturam . . . reliquo devorato corpore, caput lachrymis effusis macerat, itaque devorat hoc quoque.'

l. 17. *as Cicero says* &c.] 'O Dii, quam ineptus! quam se ipse amans sine rivali.' Epist. ad Quintum Fratrem, lib. iii. 8.

So Horace:

'Nullum ultra verbum aut operam insumebat inanem
Quin sine rivali teque et tua solus amares.'
Epist. ad Pisones, 443.

XXIV.

OF INNOVATIONS.

As the births of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all innovations, which are the births of time; yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation; for ill to man's nature as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion strongest in continuance; but good, as a forced motion strongest at first. Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for time is the greatest 10

innovator; and if time of course[a] alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit; and those things which have long gone together, are as it were confederate[b] within themselves; whereas new things piece not so well; but though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity: beside, they are like strangers, more admired and less favoured[c]. All this is true if time stood still; which contrariwise moveth so round[d] that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation; and they that reverence too much old times are but a scorn to the new. It were good therefore that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly and by degrees scarce to be perceived; for otherwise[e], whatsoever is new is unlooked for; and ever it mends some and pairs[f] other; and he

[a] *time of course*] i. e. time by its course. Lat. *decursu solo.*

[b] *confederate* &c.] i. e. well fitted to each other, working well together. Lat. *foedere quodam conjuncta.*

[c] *less favoured*] Lat. *minus benevolentia prosequimur.*

[d] *moveth so round*] i. e. so moveth round. Lat. *in orbem agitatur.*

[e] *for otherwise*] The Latin gives *illud enim pro certo habeas.* The word *otherwise* does not seem to be used here in its ordinary sense. Whatever is new will, as the Latin declares, be unlooked for in any case. I incline, therefore, to take *otherwise* as equal here to *in any wise.* Bacon so uses it elsewhere. 'This colour is to be understood of *gradus inceptionis a potentia ad actum, comparatus cum gradu ab actu ad incrementum.* For otherwise *major videtur gradus ab impotentia ad potentiam, quam a potentia ad actum.*' Works, vii. 92. Conf. also, 'But three things must be looked into. The one, that they be repressed in any insolency, which may tend either to disquiet the civil estate, or to scandalize our Church in fact, for otherwise all their doctrine doth it in opinion.' Letters and Life, vii. 449. And, 'Brutus boldly asked him what he was, a god or a man, and what cause brought him thither. The spirit aunswered him, I am thy evill spirit, Brutus, and thou shalt see me by the citie of Philippes. Brutus, being no otherwise afraid, replied againe unto it, Well, then, I shall see thee againe.' North's Plutarch, p. 1006. It seems clear, here, that Brutus was not afraid at all, in one wise or in another. The original is *οὐ διαταραχθείς.*

[f] *pairs*] i. e. impairs, injures. Lat. *huic adjicere aliquid, illi eripere.* Conf.

'No faith so fast, quoth she, but flesh does paire,
Flesh may empaire, quoth he, but reason can repaire.'

Fairie Queene, bk. i. canto 7. stanza 41.

that is holpen takes it for a fortune and thanks the time; and he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author. It is good also not to try experiments in states, except the necessity be urgent or the utility evident; and well to beware[g] that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth[h] the reformation; and lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect; and, as the Scripture saith, *That we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it.*

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 171, l. 3. *as those that first bring honour* &c.] What this is intended to illustrate may be seen from a passage in the Antitheta. Works, i. 704: 'Sicut qui nobilitatem in familiam introducunt digniores fere sunt posteris; ita novitates rerum plerumque praestant iis quae ad exempla fiunt.' The sense therefore is that, as originals are better than copies, so the first results of an innovation, ill-shapen as it always is, are commonly better than those which come afterwards when the innovation has been followed as a precedent and has thus become a settled rule. Innovations are said to be necessary, because circumstances change and because the tendency of things is, in Bacon's opinion, ever to the worse, so that from time to time some special remedy becomes requisite. The illustration implies that the 'first precedent'—the changed rule—had some greater merit of its own at first than afterwards. The argument, however, is that it has ceased to be as applicable as it was, so that to carry it out in practice does not bring about the same good results as formerly. The argument would be clear, if it were not obscured by the illustration.

For the alleged tendency of things to the worse and for the agency of time in bringing this about, conf. e. g. 'The nature of men, as of all worldly things also, is most slippery and unconstant, running still headlong from good to evil and from evil to worse.' Bodin, Commonweal, iv. 2 (Knolles' trans.).

[g] *to beware*] For this use of beware, with a positive rule immediately following, conf. 'Only men must beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear.' Essay 57.

[h] *that pretendeth*] This word may mean either to serve as a reason for or to serve as an excuse for. Conf. Essay 29, p. 210. The Lat. *praetexat* ties it down to the latter sense.

'Who knoweth not that time is truly compared to a stream, that carrieth down fresh and pure waters into that salt sea of corruption that environeth all human actions? And therefore if man shall not by his industry, virtue and policy, as it were with the oar, row against the stream and inclination of time, all institutions and ordinances, be they never so pure, will corrupt and degenerate.' Letters and Life, iii. 105. And, 'Cursus naturae continuus, instar fluminis labentis, etiam continuâ indiget remigatione vel velificatione in adversum.' Works, ii. 224. Probably imitated from Virgil:

'Sic omnia fatis
In pejus ruere, ac retro sublapsa referri:
Non aliter quam qui adverso vix flumine lembum
Remigiis subigit, si brachia forte remisit,
Atque illum in praeceps prono rapit alveus amni.'
Georg. i. 199-203.

'Quotidie est deterior posterior dies.'
Publii Syri, Fragmenta, l. 59.

l. 7. *natural motion*] e.g. the continually accelerated fall of a heavy body.

l. 8. *forced motion*] e.g. the flight of an arrow, continually less rapid and finally ceasing.

On the distinction which Bacon makes here, he speaks elsewhere in terms of contemptuous condemnation. He says, e.g. in the De Principiis atque Originibus: 'Schola enim communis satis habet, si motum naturalem a violento distinguat . . . . . Verum parum proficiunt ad philosophiam hujusmodi speculationes. Ista enim natura, ars, violentia, compendia verborum sunt et nugae.' Works, iii. 118.

And again, in the Thema Coeli: 'Sunt itaque axiomata sive potius placita nonnulla, quae a philosophis accepta, et in astronomiam translata, et male credita, artem corruperunt. Simplex autem erit rejectio et judicium nostrum, neque enim tempus refutationibus terere convenit. Horum . . . . . tertium est quod singulis corporibus naturalibus singuli competant motus proprii; et si plures inveniantur motus, omnes excepto uno sint aliunde, et ex movente aliquo separato. Quo falsius quicquid nec excogitari potest, cum universa corpora ex multiplici rerum consensu motibus etiam pluribus praedita sint . . . . .; proprii autem rerum motus nulli sint nisi mensurae exactae et modi motuum communium.' Works, iii. 777.

P. 172, l. 11. *froward retention* &c.] Conf. 'Of the servile expressing antiquity in an unlike and an unfit subject, it is well said, "Quod tempore antiquum videtur, id incongruitate est maxime novum."' Works, iii. p. 402.

l. 15. *the example of time itself*] Conf. 'We ought then in the government of a well ordered estate and commonweale, to imitate and follow the great God of nature, who in all things proceedeth

easily and little by little, who of a little seed causeth to grow a tree for height and greatnesse right admirable, and yet for all that insensibly.' Bodin, Commonweal, bk. iv. cap. 3 (Knolles' trans.).

P. 173, l. 8. *as the scripture saith*] Jeremiah vi. 16. Given in the Advancement of Learning, as supplying a rule for dealing with novelty in science: *State super vias antiquas, et videte quaenam sit via recta et bona, et ambulate in ea.* Works, iii. p. 290.

XXV.

OF DISPATCH.

AFFECTED dispatch[a] is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be: it is like that which the physicians call predigestion, or hasty digestion, which is sure to fill the body full of crudities and secret seeds of diseases. Therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the advancement of the business: and as in races, it is not the large stride or high lift[b] that makes the speed; so in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth dispatch. It is the care of some only to come off speedily for the time[c], or to contrive some false periods[d] of business, because[e] they may seem men of dispatch: but it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting[f], another by cutting off; and business so handled at several sittings or meetings goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady manner.

[a] *Affected dispatch*] Lat. *celeritas nimia et affectata*—a gloss rather than a translation.

[b] *high lift*] Lat. *pedum elevatione altiore.*

[c] *for the time*] i. e. if we follow the Latin, 'in proportion to the time taken.' *Curae est nonnullis illud tantum, ut brevi tempore multum confecisse videantur.*

[d] *false periods*] i. e. divisions which profess to include the whole needful matter, but which do not include it.

[e] *because*] i. e. in order that. Lat. *quo.* Conf. 'Because they may be thought so much the richer.' Essay 8.

[f] *contracting*] i.e. bringing the matter to a point. Lat. *contrahendo.* This seems to be the 'abbreviation' which Bacon approves, as opposed to 'cutting off' or leaving out parts requiring to be considered.

I knew a wise man that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, *Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner.*

On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing; for time is the measure of business, as money is of wares; and business is bought at a dear hand[g] where there is small dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch: *Mi venga la muerte de Spagna;—Let my death come from Spain;* for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business, and rather direct them in the beginning than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches; for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his memory than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course; but sometimes it is seen that the moderator[h] is more troublesome than the actor.

Iterations are commonly loss of time; but there is no such gain of time as to iterate often the state of the question; for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch as a robe or mantle with a long train is for race. Prefaces, and passages[i], and excusations, and other

[g] *at a dear hand*] i. e. at a dear rate. Lat. *magno*. Conf. 'If a man will keep but of even hand, his ordinary expences ought to be but to the half of his receipts.' Essay 28.

[h] *moderator*] i. e. he who presides to direct and judge: actor, i. e. the speaker. Lat. *orator*. Fr. *Le moderateur est plus facheux que les disputans*. Conf. 'Leo Decimus, that Epicurean Pope, as some record of him, caused this question (of the immortality of the soul) to be discussed *pro* and *con*. before him, and concluded at last, as a prophane and atheistical moderator, with that verse of Cornelius Gallus,

Et redit in nihilum quod fuit ante nihil.

It began of nothing, and in nothing it ends.'

Burton, Anat. of Melanc. part i. sec. 1. Mem. ii. subsec. 9. And, 'The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion; and again to moderate and pass to somewhat else.' Essay 32. So, at the Hampton Court controversy, the president and judge, King James, is termed the Moderator. Fuller, Church Hist. bk. x. sec. 1. para. 20.

[i] *passages*] Lat. *transitiones*—a questionable rendering, and not suiting with the context. The word more probably means sentences worked into

speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery[k]. Yet beware of being too material[l] when there is any impediment or obstruction in men's wills; for pre-occupation of mind ever requireth preface of speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, order and distribution and singling out of parts is the life of dispatch; so as the distribution be not too subtile: for he that doth not divide will never enter well into business; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time is to save time, and an unseasonable motion is but beating the air. There be three parts of business: the preparation; the debate, or examination; and the perfection. Whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate dispatch; for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction than an indefinite, as ashes are more generative than dust.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 175, l. 10. *to come off speedily* &c.] Bacon in his speech on taking his seat in Chancery explains and illustrates the dispatch which he approves and which he disapproves. 'I have seen an affectation of dispatch turn utterly to delay and length: for the manner of it is to take the tale out of the counsellor at the bar his mouth, and to give a cursory order, nothing tending or conducing to the end of the business. It makes me remember what I heard one

[k] *bravery*] i. e. ostentation. Lat. *gloriolae captatrices.* Ital. *ostentatione.*

[l] *being too material*] i. e. coming too soon and abruptly to the real matter or point. Lat. *sed cave ne in rem ipsam ab initio descendas, cum,* &c. So Bacon notes among the rules for his own guidance, 'Not to fall upon the mayne too soudayne, but to induce and intermingle speach of good fashon.' Letters and Life, iv. 93. For *material* = to the point, conf. 'Men can write best and most really and materially in their own professions,' Works, iii. p. 429.

the speech, and (as the context shows) referring to the speaker himself. Conf. 'Though he had fine passages of action' (i. e. of speech, *vide supra* 'actor') 'yet the real conclusions came slowly on.' Letters and Life, iv. 280.

say of a Judge that sat in Chancery, that he would make eighty orders in a morning, out of the way, and it was out of the way indeed, for it was nothing to the end of the business . . . But I mean not to purchase the praise of expeditive in that kind; but . . . my endeavour shall be to hear patiently and to cast my order into such a mould as may soonest bring the subject to the end of his journey.' Letters and Life, vi. 190.

P. 176, l. 1. *a wise man*] 'Sir Amice Pawlet, when he saw too much haste made in any matter, was wont to say, Stay a while that we may make an end the sooner.' Apophth., New and Old, Works, vii. 136.

Conf. Montaigne: 'En précipitation *festinatio tarda est*, la hastiveté se donne elle mesme la jambe, s'entrave et s'arreste, *ipsa se velocitas implicat*.' Essays, bk. iii. chap. 10.

l. 7. *Spartans*] *Vid.* speech of Corinthians to Lacedaemonians: καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄοκνοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς μελλητάς, Thucyd. i. 70; and in cap. 71 μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦδε ὡρίσθω ὑμῶν ἡ βραδυτής: also speech of Archidamus: καὶ τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον, ὃ μέμφονται μάλιστα ὑμῶν, μὴ αἰσχύνεσθε. Thucyd. i. 84.

So too in speech of Rhodians to the Roman Senate: 'Atheniensium populum fama est celerem et supra vires audacem esse ad conandum. Lacedaemoniorum cunctatorem et vix in ea quibus fidit ingredientem.'

l. 7. *Spaniards*] Report of speeches by Earls of Salisbury and Northampton concerning the petition of the merchants upon the Spanish grievances. 'All which have made the delays of Spain to come into a byeword through the world. Wherein I think his Lordship mought allude to the proverb of Italy, "Mi venga la morte di Spagna," let my death come from Spain; for then it is sure to be long a coming.' Letters and Life, iii. 351.

Bacon in the Essay strangely builds the Spanish *muerte* for *morte* and *de* for *di* into a proverb which is Italian for the rest.

P. 177, l. 9. *not too subtile*] Conf. Essay 26, where Bacon speaks of subtilty as one of the arts employed for the intentional frustration of business, and illustrates the absurdity of it by the case of Prodicus.

l. 15. *let the middle only* &c.] Conf. A memorial for his Majesty: 'His council shall perceive by that which his majesty shall now communicate with them, that the mass of his business is continually prepared in his own royal care and cogitations, howsoever he produceth the same to light and to act *per opera dierum*.' Letters and Life, v. 349.

Conf. also end of Essay 47: 'In all negotiations of difficulty a man must not look to sow and reap at once but must prepare business and so ripen it by degrees.'

l. 16. *the last be the work of few*] This agrees with the rule in Essay 20 on Council, 'that they (Kings) suffer not their council to go through with the resolution and direction as if it depended on them;

but take the matter back into their own hands.' The reason given is different, but the result is the same.

l. 20. *as ashes are more generative than dust*] Bacon in his Natural History speaks of both these: 'The third help of ground is, by some other substances that have a virtue to make ground fertile, though they be not merely earth: wherein ashes excel.'

'It is strange, which is observed by some of the ancients, that dust helpeth the fruitfulness of trees and of vines by name: insomuch as they cast dust upon them of purpose.' Works, ii. pp. 525, 546.

Pliny is an authority for the use of both, and for the excellence attributed to ashes: 'Transpadanis cineris usus adeo placet ut anteponant fimo jumentorum; quod quia levissimum est ob id exurunt. Sunt qui pulvere quoque uvas ali judicent, pubescentesque pulverent, et vitium arborumque radicibus aspergant.' Historia Naturalis, lib. 17. sec. 5.

XXVI.

OF SEEMING WISE.

It hath been an opinion that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are; but howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so between man and man; for as the apostle saith of godliness, *Having a show of godliness, but denying the power thereof;* so certainly there are, in point of wisdom and sufficiency[a], that do nothing or little very solemnly; *magno conatu nugas.* It is a ridiculous thing and fit for a satire to persons of judgment, to see what shifts these formalists have, and what prospectives[b] to make superficies to seem body that

[a] *sufficiency*] i. e. ability. Conf. 'I can challenge to myself no sufficiency, but that I was diligent and reasonable happy to execute those directions which I received.' Letters and Life, iii. 294.

[b] *prospectives*] i. e. probably 'perspective glasses.' The word is used by Bacon sometimes, seemingly as in the text, of glasses that make superficies appear solid: 'Such superficial speculations they have, like prospectives, that show things inward, when they are but paintings.' Works, ii. 381. Sometimes of glasses for looking at distant objects: 'I . . . do intend to present unto your Majesty a perfect book of your estate, like a prospective glass, to draw your estate nearer to your sight.' Letters and Life, vi. 453.

hath depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved as they will not show their wares but by a dark light, and seem always to keep back somewhat; and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signs; as Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin; *Respondes, altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio; crudelitatem tibi non placere.* Some think to bear it[c] by speaking a great word and being peremptory; and go on and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise or make light of it as impertinent or curious[d]: and so would have their ignorance seem judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch the matter[e]; of whom A. Gel-

But it is obvious to remark that to interpret 'prospectives' as perspective glasses, does not quite suit the passages in the Essay and in the Natural History. It is not the formalists but their intended dupes who should have the prospectives, if perspective glasses are meant. The superficial speculations are not like perspective glasses; it is by perspective glasses that they would be shown. The Latin translation gives *et quali utuntur arte quasi prospectivâ.* The Italian is *è che prospettive faccino á far parer le superficie come corpo.* These suggest the modern sense of perspective, as if the word in the text meant tricks of producing an effect like that of drawings in perspective. In Bacon's English and in Italian prospective and perspective are used interchangeably. The edition of 1612 reads perspectives for the prospectives of 1625.

[c] *think to bear if*] i. e. to bear the matter out. Lat. *se valere putant.*

[d] *impertinent or curious*] i. e. irrelevant or too far out of the common way, over-elaborate. Conf. 'So as these predictions are now impertinent.' Works, iii. 380. *Praesentis non sunt instituti.* Works, i. 607. And,

'T'were to consider too curiously to consider so.'

Hamlet, act v. sc. 1.

[e] *blanch the matter*] Lat. *rem praetervehuntur.* Fr. *effaceront les matières.* Ital. *si scansano dal negotio.* Blanch is explained in Murray's New English Dictionary as a variant of blench. To pass without notice, to omit, are given among the transitive senses of the word. So, in the Adv. of Learning: 'It is over-usual to blanch the obscure places and discourse upon the plain.' Works, iii. 414. Some other authorities take blanch, in this sense, as a

lius saith, *Hominem delirum, qui verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera.* Of which kind also Plato, in his Protagoras, bringeth in Prodicus in scorn, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally such men in all deliberations find ease to be of the negative side, and affect a credit to object[f] and foretell difficulties; for when propositions are denied there is an end of them; but if they be allowed[g] it requireth a new work: which false point of wisdom is the bane of business. To conclude, there is no decaying merchant or inward beggar[h] hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion; but let no man choose them for employment; for certainly, you were better take[i] for business a man somewhat absurd[k] than over-formal.

derivative of blanch—to make white. If so, to blanch the matter will be to put it out of sight, and, as it were, to erase it and leave a blank in its stead; to blanch the obscure places will be to treat them as if the passages were blanks. Blanch, to make white, is certainly a word which Bacon uses elsewhere: 'It is an offence horrible and odious, and cannot be blanched nor made fair, but foul.' Letters and Life, iv. 272.

[f] *affect a credit to object* &c.] i. e. attempt to get credit by objecting. Lat. *existimationem aucupantur ex scrupulis et difficultatibus proponendis et praedicendis.*

[g] *allowed*] i. e. approved, accepted. Lat. *sin probatur.* Conf. 'That young men travel under some tutor or grave servant, I allow well.' Essay 18, and *passim.*

[h] *inward beggar*] i. e. a beggar in point of fact, but not known to be such. Lat. *decoctor rei familiaris occultus.*

[i] *you were better take* &c.] So, in Essay 27: 'A man were better relate himself to a statua or picture.' And, 'A judge were better be a briber than a respecter of persons.' Works, iii. 450.

[k] *absurd*] probably blunt and rough in manner. The word occurs three times in the Essays. In Essay 6 'an absurd silence' seems to mean a rough-mannered refusal to answer; since silence has nothing in it absurd in the ordinary sense of the word. In the passage in the text, the contrast presumably is between the over-formal man, too perfect in compliments and too full of respects, and the man who is negligent of them to a fault. In Essay 47 froward and absurd are joined as epithets of the same men, and as qualities fitting them to negociate business that doth not well bear itself out. Bacon's 'absurd' seems to be a Latinism, as many of his words are. Giving a disagreeable sound, harsh, rough, rude, are among the primary senses of *absurdus.*

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

P. 179, l. 4. *as the apostle saith*] 2 Tim. iii. 5.

l. 7. *magno conatu nugas*] Heauton. iii. 5, 8.

l. 9. *these formalists* &c.] Bacon is probably making special allusion here to Sir Henry Hobart and to the Earl of Salisbury. Conf. 'The attorney (i.e. Sir Henry Hobart) sorteth not so well with his present place, being a man timid and scrupulous both in parliament and in other business, and one that in a word was made fit for the late Lord Treasurer's bent, which was to do little with much formality and protestation, whereas the now solicitor (i.e. Bacon himself) going more roundly to work,' &c. Letters and Life, iv. 381.

P. 180, l. 3. *when they know within themselves* &c.] The following passage is a good instance in point: 'It is certain that we had in use at one time, for sea fight, short arrows, which they called sprights, without any other heads save wood sharpened: which were discharged out of muskets, and would pierce through the sides of ships where a bullet would not pierce. But this dependeth upon one of the greatest secrets in all nature; which is, that similitude of substance will cause attraction where the body is wholly freed from the motion of gravity: for if that were taken away lead would draw lead, and gold would draw gold, and iron would draw iron, without the help of the loadstone. But this same motion of weight or gravity (which is a mere motion of matter and hath no affinity with the form or kind) doth kill the other motion, except itself be killed by a violent motion; as in these instances of arrows; for then the motion of attraction by similitude of substance beginneth to show itself. But we shall handle this point of nature fully in due place.' The story about the arrows or sprights is a sea-yarn told by Sir Richard Hawkins. The philosophical explanation of it as 'one of the greatest secrets in all nature' is Bacon's own. Works, ii. 564.

l. 8. *as Cicero saith*] In Pisonem, end of cap. 6.

l. 19. *A. Gellius*] We learn from a passage in the Advancement of Learning that Bacon was aware that it was about Seneca that these words or something like them had been used. 'As was said of Seneca,

"Verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera."'

Works, iii. 286.

Now, the comments of Aulus Gellius on the style and matter of Seneca are found in the Noctes Atticae, xii. cap. 2. He is termed '*nugator homo' verborum Senecae piget: inepti et insubidi et insulsi hominis joca non praeteribo*, &c. But the words in Bacon's text do not occur. The nearest approach to them is in the better balanced and more considered censure of Quintilian: 'Si non omnia sua

amasset; si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non fregisset, consensu potius eruditorum quam puerorum amore comprobaretur.' De Instit. Orat. x. cap. 1, sec. 130.

It would seem that Bacon had read both the above passages, and by confusing their authorship and adding something of his own, had evolved the sentence which he ascribes to Aulus Gellius. He thus shows us, all the more clearly, what his opinion of Seneca must have been.

P. 181, l. 2. *Plato*] *Εἰπόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα, ὁ Πρόδικος, Καλῶς μοι, ἔφη, δοκεῖς λέγειν, ὦ Κριτία· Χρὴ γὰρ τοὺς ἐν τοιοῖσδε λόγοις παραγιγνομένους κοινοὺς μὲν εἶναι ἀμφοῖν τοῖν διαλεγομένοιν ἀκροατάς, ἴσους δὲ μή· ἔστι γὰρ οὐ ταὐτόν· κοινῇ μὲν γὰρ ἀκοῦσαι δεῖ ἀμφοτέρων, μὴ ἴσον δὲ νεῖμαι ἑκατέρῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν σοφωτέρῳ πλέον, τῷ δὲ ἀμαθεστέρῳ ἔλαττον. ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς . . . ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς συγχωρεῖν καὶ ἀλλήλοις περὶ τῶν λόγων ἀμφισβητεῖν μέν, ἐρίζειν δὲ μή· ἀμφισβητοῦσι μὲν γὰρ καὶ δι' εὔνοιαν οἱ φίλοι τοῖς φίλοις, ἐρίζουσι δὲ οἱ διάφοροί τε καὶ ἐχθροὶ ἀλλήλοις, κ.τ.λ.* Protagoras, p. 337.

XXVII.

OF FRIENDSHIP.

It had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words than in that speech, *Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wild beast or a god:* for it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred and aversation towards society in any man hath somewhat of the savage beast; but it is most untrue that it should have any character at all of the divine nature, except it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation[a]: such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathen; as Epimenides, the Candian;

[a] *conversation*] i.e. intercourse or way of life. Conf. 'Our conversation is in heaven.' Philippians iii. 20. And, 'Such as were first seated in their possessions and entertained societie, were the first that brought in civill conversation, and by little and little were purified, and so attained to the perfection of civill government.' Edmundes, Caesar's Commentaries, Obs. on lib. v. cap. 4.

Numa, the Roman; Empedocles, the Sicilian; and Apollonius of Tyana; and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits and holy fathers of the Church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth; for a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little, *Magna civitas, magna solitudo*; because in a great town friends are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods: but we may go further, and affirm most truly, that it is a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends, without which the world is but a wilderness; and even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body; and it is not much otherwise in the mind; you may take sarza to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flowers of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain; but no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift[b] or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak: so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness: for princes, in regard of the distance of their

[b] *civil shrift*] as opposed to religious. The French (of Baudoin) expresses this by *une confession voluntaire*, since in the Church of Rome confession to a priest is set down as obligatory. *Vide* Decree of the 4th Lateran Council, canon 21, quoted in Keble's note to Hooker's Eccl. Pol. bk. vi. ch. 4. sec. 3.

fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions, and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to [c] inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites or privadoes, as if it were matter of grace or conversation [d]; but the Roman name attaineth the true use and cause thereof, naming them *participes curarum;* for it is that which tieth the knot. And we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned, who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after surnamed the Great) to that height that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's overmatch; for when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his, against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; *for that more men adored the sun rising than the sun setting.* With Julius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest, as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew; and this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death: for when Cæsar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages and specially a dream of Calpurnia, this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him

[c] *sorteth to*] i. e. turneth to. Lat. *non nisi praejudicio fit.*

[d] *conversation*] here tied down by the context to intercourse or intimacy. For this sense conf. 'All princes and all men are won either by merit or conversation.' Letters and Life, iii. 340.

he hoped he would not dismiss the senate till his wife had dreamt a better dream; and it seemeth his favour was so great, as Antonius, in a letter which is recited verbatim in one of Cicero's Philippics, calleth him *venefica,—witch;* as if he had enchanted Cæsar. Augustus raised Agrippa (though of mean birth) to that height, as, when he consulted with Mæcenas about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Mæcenas took the liberty to tell him, *that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life: there was no third way, he had made him so great.* With Tiberius Cæsar, Sejanus had ascended to that height as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius, in a letter to him, saith, *Hæc pro amicitiâ nostrâ non occultavi;* and the whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two. The like, or more, was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus; for he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus, and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his son; and did write also in a letter to the senate by these words: *I love the man so well as I wish he may over-live me.* Now, if these princes had been as a Trajan, or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature; but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly that they found their own felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as an half-piece[e], except they might have a friend to make it entire; and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews; and yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus observeth of his

[e] *an half-piece*] Lat. *veluti mutilam.*

first master, Duke Charles the Hardy[f]; namely, that he would communicate his secrets with none; and least of all those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on and saith that towards his latter time *that closeness did impair*[g] *and a little perish his understanding.* Surely Comineus might have made the same judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second master, Lewis the Eleventh, whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable of Pythagoras is dark but true, *Cor ne edito,—eat not the heart.* Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts. But one thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects; for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halves: for there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more; and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is, in truth of operation upon a man's mind, of like virtue as the alchymists used to attribute to their stone for man's body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature: but yet, without praying[h] in aid of

[f] *the Hardy*] i.e. the bold. Conf. 'Good fellow, be of good cheer and forwards hardily, fear not.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 729. And, 'Hardily he entride in to Pilat, and axide the body of Jhesu.' Mark xv. ver. 43, as in the earlier of the two Wycliffite versions edited by Forshall and Madden. In the later version the corresponding word is 'booldli.'

[g] *did impair* &c.] Lat. *nonnihil debilitasse et vitiasse.* For this use of 'perish' conf. 'A very dangerous heretic, that could never get but two disciples, and those, it would seem, perished in their brain.' Letters and Life. i. 166. And,

'Because thy flinty heart more hard than they
Might in thy palace perish Margaret.
Henry VI, Pt. 2. act iii. sc. 2.

[h] *praying in aid of alchymists*] i.e. seeking to get help from alchymists. Lat. *absque auxilio notionum chemicarum.* A legal phrase. Conf. 'This word (*aydè*) is also particularly used in matter of pleading, for a petition made in court for the calling in of helpe from another that hath an interest in the cause in question, and is likely both to give strength to the party that prayeth in aide of him, and also to avoide a prejudice towards his owne right except it be prevented.' Cowell, Inter-

alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature; for, in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action; and, on the other side, weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression; and even so is it of minds.

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections; for friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections from storm and tempests, but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts: neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up in the communicating and discoursing with another; he tosseth his thoughts more easily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words: finally, he waxeth wiser than himself; and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the king of Persia, *That speech was like cloth of Arras opened and put abroad; whereby the imagery doth appear in figure; whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs.* Neither is this second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel; (they indeed are best); but even without that a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light,

preter, *sub voce 'ayde'* (1607). Bacon uses the phrase elsewhere loosely, as in the text, = to endeavour to obtain help from. 'In divine learning we see how frequent parables and Tropes are: for it is a rule, that whatsoever science is not consonant to presuppositions, must pray in aid of similitudes.' Works, iii. p. 407. Coke is equally lax; e. g. in telling a story of a man who was apprehended in Southwark with a head of a dead man and a book of sorcery. The head and the book were burned, and thus, Coke remarks, 'had the same punishment that the Sorcerer should have had by the ancient law, if he had by his sorcery praied in aid of the Devil.' Coke, Institutes, Part iii. cap. 6.

and whetteth his wits as against a stone which itself cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate himself to a statua[i] or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother[k].

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open, and falleth within vulgar observation: which is faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus saith well in one of his enigmas, *Dry light is ever the best:* and certain it is that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment; which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer; for there is no such flatterer as is a man's self, and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts; the one concerning manners, the other concerning business: for the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account is a medicine sometimes too piercing and corrosive; reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead; observing our faults in others is sometimes unproper for our case; but the best receipt (best (I say) to work and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to

[i] *a statua*] This is a common form of the word. Conf. e. g. 'The state of learning . . . without which the history of the world seemeth to me to be as the statua of Polyphemus with his eye out.' Works, iii. 329.

'They spake not a word,
But like dumb statuas, or breathing stones,
Stared on each other.'
King Richard III, act iii. sc. 7.

'She dreamt to-night she saw my statua,
Which like a fountain with a hundred spouts
Did run pure blood.'
Julius Caesar, act ii. sc. 2.

[k] *to pass in smother*] Lat. *cogitationes suas silentio suffocare.* Conf. 'I have often seen it, that things when they are in smother trouble more than when they break out.' Letters and Life, v. 47.

behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit for want of a friend to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their fame and fortune: for, as St. James saith, they are as men *that look sometimes into a glass, and presently*[l] *forget their own shape and favour*[m]. As for business, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes see no more than one; or that a gamester seeth always more than a looker-on; or that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty letters; or that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest; and such other fond[n] and high imaginations, to think himself all in all[o]. But when all is done[p], the help of good counsel is that which setteth business straight: and if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces, asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man, it is well (that is to say, better perhaps than if he asked none at all); but he runneth two dangers; one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it: the other, that he shall have counsel given hurtful and unsafe (though with good meaning), and mixed partly of mischief and partly of remedy; even as if you would call a physician, that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body; and therefore may put you in a way for a present

[l] *presently*] i. e. immediately. Lat. *statim.*

[m] *favour*] i. e. features. *Vide* note on Essay 43.

[n] *fond*] i. e. foolish. Conf.

'Tell these sad women
'Tis fond to wail inevitable strokes.'
Coriolanus, act iv. sc. 1.

[o] *to think himself all in all*] This clause seems intended to interpret and amplify the preceding clause. 'The essential fault of the man in his fond and high imaginations is that he thinks himself all in all.' Lat. *in se esse omnia.* The grammar is not more loose than Bacon's grammar frequently is.

[p] *when all is done*] Lat. *quidquid dici potest in contrarium.*

cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind, and so cure the disease and kill the patient: but a friend that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate, will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience; and therefore rest not upon scattered counsels; they will rather distract and mislead than settle and direct.

After these two noble fruits of friendship (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment), followeth the last fruit, which is like the pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean aid, and bearing a part in all actions and occasions. Here the best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship is to cast and see[q] how many things there are which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients to say, *that a friend is another himself:* for that a friend is far more than himself. Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart; the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him; so that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place: but where friendship is, all offices of life are as it were granted to him and his deputy; for he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them: a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate or beg, and a number of the like: but all these things are graceful in a friend's

[q] *to cast and see*] Lat. *circumspiciendo et videndo.* Conf.

'It is as proper to our age
To cast beyond ourselves in our opinions
As it is common for the younger sort
To lack discretion.'

Hamlet, act ii. sc. 1.

mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So again, a man's person[r] hath many proper relations[s] which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms[t]: whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth[u] with the person. But to enumerate these things were endless; I have given the rule where a man cannot fitly play his own part; if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 183, l. 1. *for him*) The Latin is *etiam illi*, implying that the author referred to was a master in the art of putting together in few words the utmost possible amount of truth and untruth.

l. 3. *Whosoever is* &c.] The reference is to Aristotle's Politics, bk. 1. cap. 2: *Ἐκ τούτων οὖν φανερὸν ὅτι τῶν φύσει ἡ πόλις ἐστί, καὶ ὅτι ἄνθρωπος φύσει πολιτικὸν ζῷον, καὶ ὁ ἄπολις διὰ φύσιν καὶ οὐ διὰ τύχην ἤτοι φαῦλός ἐστιν ἢ κρείττων ἢ ἄνθρωπος, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ὑφ' Ὁμήρου λοιδορηθείς.*

Ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιος . . . ὁ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενος κοινωνεῖν, ἢ μηθὲν δεόμενος δι' αὐτάρκειαν, οὐθὲν μέρος πόλεως, ὥστε ἢ θηρίον ἢ θεός.

I have given the above passages at length in order to show, perhaps needlessly, the absurd incorrectness of Bacon's remarks upon them. It is true that in the Ethics Aristotle prefers the contemplative to the practical, the self-sufficing to the dependent life: *Ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος ἂν εἴη βίος κρείττων ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον· οὐ γὰρ ᾗ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν οὕτω βιώσεται, ἀλλ' ᾗ θεῖόν τι ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει, κ.τ.λ.* x. 7. The *ἢ θεός* of the Politics suggests the same thought. It does not suggest or admit a natural and secret hatred and aversion towards society, proceeding out of a pleasure in solitude and not out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation. In the Advancement of

[r] *a man's person*] i. e. the part or character which a man sustains in society. Conf.

'I then did use the person of your father.'

2 Henry IV, act v. sc. 2.

And, 'That your Majesty do for this Parliament put off the person of a merchant and contractor, and rest upon the person of a King.' Letters and Life, iv. 371.

[s] *hath many proper relations*] i. e. relations essentially belonging to it. Lat. *multa habet conjuncta.*

[t] *upon terms*] The Lat. *salva dignitate* expresses a part of the sense, or perhaps a derivative of the sense, but it does not mark the contrast intended between the unreserved intercourse of friends and the measured formalities and arm's-length restraints within which a man must have dealings with his enemy.

[u] *sorteth*] i. e. suiteth. Conf. 'Livia sorted well with the arts of her husband.' Essay 6 and note.

Learning, there is a passage of magnificent eloquence, in which Bacon decides against Aristotle's preference of the contemplative life, but it does not bear out in any way the captious blunder of the Essay. *Vide* Works, iii. 421.

P. 184, l. 7. *the Latin adage*] This is a splendid perversion. The original phrase does not convey the ethical sense which Bacon reads into it. It is given among the Erasmi Adagia. 'Strabo, Geographiae lib. xvi. Seleuciam ad Tigrim ait Babylone majorem fuisse, sed pleraque sui parte desertam, ac jure optimo de illa dici posse, quod de Megalopoli Arcadiae civitate dixit comicus quispiam

Ἐρημία μεγάλη ἐστιν ἡ μεγάλη πόλις

id est Est magna solitudo magna civitas. Allusum est ad nomen urbis.' Adag. p. 476 (Edition 1551).

l. 19. *diseases of stoppings* &c.] Bacon makes frequent use of these pathological similes; e. g. conf. Essay 3, p. 19, 'for as in the natural body,' &c.; and speech in Parliament, Life and Letters, iv. 177: 'Take away liberty of Parliament, the griefs of the subject will bleed inwards: sharp and eager humours will not evaporate, and then they must exulcerate, and so may endanger the sovereignty itself.'

P. 185, l. 9. *participes curarum*] I can find no authority for Bacon's statement that this is 'the Roman name.' He seems to have been misled by his double habit of reading Greek authors in a Latin version and of quoting from memory afterwards. Dion Cassius, speaking of the titles which Tiberius conferred on Sejanus, mentions among the rest, καὶ κοινωνὸν τῶν φροντίδων ὠνόμαζε. This is rendered in Xylander's version by *curarumque suarum participem nominavit.* Dion Cassius, lib. lviii. p. 714 in H. Stephens' fol. edition (1592). It is a questionable instance of friendship, for it appears by the context that it was part of a design to prepare the way for the overthrow of a man of whom Tiberius was distrustful, but whom he feared to attack openly.

l. 17. *L. Sylla* &c.] This story is incorrectly told. The answer in the text was made when 'Pompey required the honour of triumph, but Sylla denied it, alledging that none could enter in triumph into Rome but Consuls or Praetors. . . . These reasons did Sylla alledge against Pompey, and told him plainly that if he were bent to stand in it, he would resist him. All this blanked not Pompey, who told him frankly againe how men did honour the rising not the setting of the Sun.' It was after this that 'Pompey by force and against Syllaes will had brought Lepidus to be Consull, by the helpe and good will of the people that furthered his desire.' Life of Pompeius, North's Plutarch, p. 638.

l. 24. *With Julius Caesar* &c.] For this *vide* Plutarch's Life of Julius Caesar, North's trans. p. 740.

P. 186, l. 4. *calleth him venefica*] The word seems to have been used by Antony as nothing more than a term of general abuse. The letter,

which Cicero recites with a running comment on each clause, is '*Et te, o puer, qui omnia ejus nomini debes, id agere ut jure damnatus sit Dolabella, et ut venefica haec liberetur obsidione*? Veneficam audes appellare eum virum qui tuis veneficiis remedia invenit?' &c. &c. Philipp. xiii. 11. Cap. 9 shows that it is Brutus who is here meant.

l. 5. *Augustus raised Agrippa* &c.] Ὁ Αὔγουστος . . . . μετεπέμψατο αὐτόν, καὶ καταναγκάσας τὴν γυναῖκα, καίπερ ἀδελφιδῆν αὐτοῦ οὖσαν, ἀπαλλάξαντα, τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ συνοικῆσαι, ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην . . . ἔπεμψε. διά τε τἄλλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ Μαικήνας συμβουλευομένῳ οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι, Τηλικοῦτον αὐτὸν πεποίηκας ὥστε ἢ γαμβρόν σου γενέσθαι ἢ φονευθῆναι. Dion Cassius, liv. 6.

l. 11. *Sejanus had ascended*] Τήν τε οὖν τύχην αὐτοῦ κατακορῶς ὤμνυσαν, καὶ συνάρχοντα τοῦ Τιβερίου, οὐκ ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ κράτος ὑποσημαίνοντες, ἐπεκάλουν. Dion Cassius, lviii. 6.

l. 13. *Haec pro amicitia* &c.] Tac. Ann. iv. 40.

l. 14. *and the whole senate*] 'Neque senatûs in eo cura an imperii extrema dehonestarentur: pavor internus occupaverat animos, cui remedium adulatione quaerebatur. Ita quanquam diversis super rebus consulerentur, aram clementiae, aram amicitiae, effigiesque circum Caesaris ac Sejani censuere.' Tac. Ann. iv. 74.

l. 16. *The like, or more* &c.] Τήν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ τῷ υἱεῖ ἐμνήστευσε, πολλὰς καὶ σεμνὰς κόρας παραλιπών· ὕπατόν τε ἀπέδειξε, καὶ διάδοχον τῆς αὐταρχίας, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἔχειν ἤξατο· καί ποτε καὶ ἐπέστειλε, Φιλῶ τὸν ἄνδρα, ὥστε καὶ εὔχεσθαι προαποθανεῖν αὐτοῦ. Dion Cassius, lxxv. 15.

l. 19. *would often maintain him* &c.] This may be inferred from what Dion Cassius says about the conduct of the Emperor's sons after the death of Plautianus: Οἱ δὲ τοῦ Σευήρου παῖδες, ὅ τε Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ ὁ Γέτας, οἷον παιδαγωγοῦ τινος ἀπηλλαγμένοι τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐποίουν. Dion Cassius, lxxvi. 7.

l. 29. *but as an half-piece*] Bacon is probably referring to the old practice of cutting silver pennies into halves to make up for the deficiency of smaller coins. Up to the time of Edward I few or no half-pennies were struck at the mint. 'The want of such small money,' says Hawkins, 'seems to have been generally supplied by cutting the pennies into halves and quarters. Several specimens are to be found in almost all reigns.' Silver Coins of England (Ed. 2nd), p. 199.

In 1393, a petition of the commons to King Richard II complains of a 'great scarcity in the Realm of Half-pennies and Farthings of Silver, whereby the poor were frequently ill-supplied, so that when a poor man would buy his victuals and other necessaries convenient for him, and had only a penny, for which he ought to receive a half-penny in exchange, he did many times spoil his penny in order to make one half-penny.' Ruding's Annals of the Coinage of Britain (1817), vol. i. p. 474.

In 1402, a petition to Henry IV states that 'the people, of great necessity, used the moneys of foreign lands . . . and in some parts Halfpennies divided (to the great destruction and waste of the said money) and in some places tokens of lead.' Ruding, vol. i. p. 484.

In Elizabeth's reign there was the same complaint about the want of small coins. 'In 1574,' says Ruding, 'the use of private tokens for money . . . was at this time grown to such excess as to be the subject of frequent complaints. They were made of Lead, Tin, Latten, and even of leather. Of these base materials were formed farthings and half-pence.' Ruding, vol. ii. p. 162.

l. 34. *what Comineus observeth*] He says of the Duke that, after his defeat by the Swiss at Granson, 'il avoit sejourné à Losanne en Savoye, où vous, monseigneur de Vienne, le servistes de bon conseil en une grant malladie qu'il eut de douleur et de tristesse de ceste honte qu'il avoit receue; et, à dire la verité, je croy que jamais depuis il n'eut l'entendement si bon qu'il avoit en auparavant ceste bataille.' Mémoires de Commynes, v. cap. 3.

In the same year, after his defeat at Morat, 's'estoit retiré à l'entree de Bourgongne, en ung lieu appellé la Riviere, auquel lieu il sejourna plus de six sepmaines . . . et se tenoit comme solitaire . . . car la douleur qu'il eut de la premiere bataille de Granson fut si grande, et luy troubla tant les esperits, qu'il en tomba en grant malladie. . . . Et, à mon advis, oncques puis ladicte malladie ne fut si saige que auparavant, mais beaucoup diminué de son sens.

'Et telles sont les passions de ceulx qui n'eurent jamais adversité et ne scavent trouver nulz remedes . . . car, en ce cas et en semblables, la premier refuge est retourner à Dieu. . . . Apres cela, faict grand bien de parler à quelque amy, se povez, et devant luy hardyment plaindre ses douleurs, . . . et non point prendre le chemin que print le duc de se cacher ou se tenir solitairement.' Livre v. cap. 5.

P. 187, l. 8. *The parable of Pythagoras*] Lat. *Tessera Pythagorae.*

Vide Diog. Laertius on Pythagoras: *Ἦν δ' αὐτῷ τὰ σύμβολα τάδε . . . καρδίην μὴ ἐσθίειν . . . διὰ δὲ τοῦ καρδίην μὴ ἐσθίειν ἐδήλου μὴ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνίαις καὶ λύπαις κατατήκειν.*

Porphyry, in his life, mentions this among the dicta of Pythagoras, *πάλιν δ' αὖ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα, οἷον μὴ καρδίαν ἐσθίειν· οἷον μὴ λυπεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἀνίαις.* 'Eat not thy heart; that is to say, offend not thine own soul, nor hurt and consume it with pensive cares.' Given in Plutarch's Morals, among the enigmatical sayings of Pythagoras, p. 13.

l. 20. *like virtue as the Alchemists used to ascribe* &c.] The virtues ascribed by the Alchemists to the Philosopher's stone, the 'lapis benedictus,' are large enough and various enough to cover Bacon's words. 'Homines in suavitate et juventute conservat, repellendo ab eis cunctos languores: . . . lepram depellit, caducum morbum et alias multas

ferè incurabiles infirmitates mulcet atque etiam removet. Et haec omnia operatur plus quàm omnes medicorum medicinae, vel potiones vel confectiones quaecunque. . . . Sicque fit antidotum et medicina omnium corporum curandorum, et purgandorum, tam metallicorum quàm humanorum. Rosarius quoque multa specificat dicens: Conservat sanitatem et roborat virtutem, reparat juventutem, purgat spiritualia, purgat pulmonem, venena cuncta expellit, morbos tollit, leprosos in vino bibita paulatim curat.' Ventura, de ratione conficiendi lapidis Philos. cap. xxxi. Quod virtus lapidis nostri praeciosa, est immensa multiplex et admirabilis. The aurum potabile, derived from this stone, is expressly said to work 'all contrary effects, but still to the good.' Conf. 'Lapis hic Philosophorum cor purgat omniaque membra capitalia, nec non intestina medullas et quicquid ipso corpore continetur. Non permittit aliquem in corpore pullulare morbum, sed ab eo fugiunt Podagra, Hydropisis, Icteritia, Colica passio, nec non a quatuor humoribus aegritudines omnes provenientes ejicit, corpora quoque repurgat, ut similia reddantur ac si tum primo nata essent. Refugit omne quod naturam destruere conatur. Non aliter quam vermes ignem; ita infirmitates quaecunque renovationem hanc fugiunt.' Paracelsus, vol. ii. p. 18 b (Ed. in 3 fol. vols., Geneva, 1658).

'Ex hoc fonte scatet VERUM AURUM POTABILE,' p. 138 b; 'admirabilis profecto medicina quae pariter humidum atque siccum, calidum aeque ac frigidum curat.' Vol. iii. p. 115 a.

P. 188, l. 2. *for, in bodies*] i. e. in inanimate bodies. Lat. *in rebus naturalibus*. The Ed. of 1612 gives, 'And as it is certaine that in bodies inanimate, union strengtheneth any naturall motion and weakeneth any violent motion: So amongst men, friendship multiplieth joies and divideth griefes.' Works, vi. p. 558.

On the asserted certainty of this principle, and on the phraseology in which it is expressed, Bacon speaks elsewhere in terms very different from the above. *Vide* note on Essay 24.

l. 20. *It was well said by Themistocles*] The words of Themistocles do not bear the sense which Bacon puts upon them. The comparison intended is not between speech and thought, but between the perfect and imperfect expression of thought by language. Themistocles learnt to speak Persian not in order to open his understanding and bring his own thoughts to light, but to enable him to do justice to his plans in explaining them to the Persian King. The credit therefore for the very fine simile in the text belongs to Bacon, not to Themistocles.

Plutarch tells the story twice. In his life of Themistocles: 'Themistocles (being charged by the Persian king to be bold and to speak his mind freely about the state of Greece) then answered him: That men's words did properly resemble the stories and imagerie in a peece of arras; for both in the one and in the other, the goodly images of either of them are seene when they are unfolded and laid

open. Contrariwise they appear not, but are lost, when they are shut up and close folded: whereupon he said to the king he must needes require some further time of answer. The king liked his comparison passing well and willed him to appoint his owne time. Themistocles asked a yeare; in which time having pretily learned the Persian tongue, he afterwards spake to the king himself without any interpreter.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 131. And again in his Apophthegmata: 'Being banished out of Athens . . . he retired himselfe to the great King of Persia, where having audience given him to speak, he said: That a man's speech might very well be likened unto clothes of tapestry, wrought with imagery and story-work: for both the one and the other, if they be displaied and unfolded at length, discover plainly and openly the figures drawn within; but if they be folded or rolled up, all the pourtraictures be hidden and to no purpose: he requested therefore the tearm of a certein time within which he might learn the Persian language, to the end that thenceforward he might be able to declare and deliver his own minde unto the king by himselfe, and not by a truck-man or interpreter.' Plutarch, Morals, p. 344, Apophthegmes of Kings, &c.

Bacon in his Apophthegms new and old tells the story correctly: 'Themistocles said of speech: that it was like Arras *that spread abroad shows fair images, but contracted is but like packs.*' Works, vii. 153.

The metaphor is employed correctly, but with no reference to its origin, by Travers in the course of his controversy with Hooker: 'I have been bold to offer to your honours a long and tedious discourse of these matters; but, speech being like to tapestry, which if it be folded up sheweth but part of that which is wrought, and being unlapt and laid open sheweth plainly, to the eye of all the world, that is in it; I thought it necessary to unfold this tapestry,' &c. Keble's Hooker, vol. iii. p. 707 (Ed. 1836).

P. 189, l. 1. *a stone* &c.] Conf.

'Ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum
Reddere quae ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi.'
Hor. De Arte Poet. 304.

l. 8. *Heraclitus* &c.] This enigma is variously recorded. The correct version is *αὔη ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη*. *Vide* Stobaei Florilegium, v. 120 (Gaisford's Edition). Gaisford gives, in a note, a various reading, '*αὐγὴ ξηρὴ σοφωτάτη*. Neminem haec varietas confundat; *αὐγὴ* mendosum est pro *αὔη*, et *ξηρὴ* ejusdem glossema. Schow. Cod. Paris. A. reads *αὔη ξηρὴ*, "sed *ξηρὴ* lineam habet subductam."'

l. 8. *Dry light* &c.] Conf. Nov. Org. i. 49: 'Intellectus humanus luminis sicci non est; sed recipit infusionem a voluntate et affectibus.' Works, i. p. 167.

Again in the Advancement of Learning, bk. i: 'When men fall to framing conclusions out of their knowledge, applying it to their par-

ticular, and ministering to themselves thereby weak fears or vain desires, there groweth that carefulness and trouble of mind which is spoken of: for the knowledge is no more *lumen siccum*, whereof Heraclitus the profound said, *Lumen siccum optima anima;* but it becometh *Lumen madidum* or *maceratum*, being steeped and infused in the humours of the affections.' Works, iii. 266.

P. 190, l. 4. *St. James saith*] Ep. i. 23.

l. 8. *a gamester* &c.] The proverb here referred to is frequently quoted by Bacon. Conf. Essay 48. p. 335. And, 'As the proverb is, a looker on sometimes seeth more than a gamester.' Letters and Life, vi. 239.

In the Advancement of Learning, bk. ii, the proverb is given with a reserve: 'For although sometimes a looker on may see more than a gamester, and there be a proverb more arrogant than sound that the vale best discovereth the hill; yet,' &c. Works, iii. 428.

l. 10. *the four and twenty letters*] Conf. 'Viginti quatuor, qui est numerus alphabeti apud nos.' Examples of alphabets follow, with no distinct character or place assigned to J and U. Works, i. 659.

'In our language,' says Ben Jonson, 'we use these four and twenty letters'—and he adds an alphabet with no J or U. English Grammar, bk. i. chap. 2. The form U, however, comes in presently, as it does also with Bacon. The custom of the age had come to be to put V as the initial letter, and U as a subsequent letter. The word 'uva' would thus be written 'vua.' In the previous century no such rule was observed.

The advice in the text is not new. Conf. 'Athenodorus the philosopher being of great yeares, craved license with his (Caesar's) good favour to retire unto his own house from the court, by reason of his old age: and leave he gave him, but at his farewell Athenodorus said unto him, Sir when you perceive yourself to be moved with Choler, neither say nor do ought before you have repeated to yourself all the twenty-four letters in the Alphabet. Caesar hearing this advertisement took him by the hand: I have need still (quoth he) of your company and presence, and so retained him for one yeare longer.' Plutarch, Morals, p. 364.

P. 191, l. 16. *a friend another himself*] A saying ascribed to Pythagoras: *Τοὺς δὲ φίλους ὑπερηγάπα, κοινὰ μὲν τὰ τῶν φίλων εἶναι πρῶτος ἀποφηνάμενος, τὸν δὲ φίλον ἄλλον ἑαυτόν.* Porphyry, Vita Pythag. 33. Aristotle uses it: *Ἔστι γὰρ ὁ φίλος ἄλλος αὐτός.* Eth. Nicom. ix. 4. sec. 5. *Ὡς δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχει ὁ σπουδαῖος, καὶ πρὸς τὸν φίλον· ἕτερος γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ φίλος ἐστίν.* ix. 9. sec. 10, and Magna Moralia, ii. 15. sec. 8. So, too, Zeno Cittieus: *ἐρωτηθεὶς τίς ἐστι φίλος; ἄλλος, ἔφη, ἐγώ.* Diog. Laertius, lib. vii. sec. 23.

Conf. also, 'Whereas it is commonly said and thought that a friend is another own-selfe, and men give unto him the name of *ἑταῖρος* or *ἕταρος* in Greeke, as if a man should say, *ἕτερος*, that is such another,' &c.

Plutarch on Plurality of Friends, Morals, Holland's Trans. p. 185. Conf. also Cicero, De Amicitia, cap. 21: 'Verus amicus . . . est enim is qui est tanquam alter idem.' Bacon calls the speech 'sparing' because he takes it (wrongly) as referring to the convenience or 'fruit' of friendship.

l. 26. *How many things are there*] Conf. 'Quam multa enim, quae nostra causa nunquam faceremus, facimus causa amicorum? precari ab indigno, supplicare; . . . quae in nostris rebus non satis honeste, in amicorum fiunt honestissime.' Cicero, de Amicit. cap. xvi. 57.

XXVIII.

OF EXPENCE.

Riches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions; therefore extraordinary expence must be limited[a] by the worth of the occasion; for voluntary undoing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven; but ordinary expence ought to be limited by a man's estate, and governed with such regard as it be within his compass; and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants; and ordered to the best show, that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand[b], his ordinary expences ought to be but to the half of his receipts; and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone,

[a] *limited*] i. e. appointed or measured. Lat. *commensurandi sunt.* Ital. *proportionate.* The clause following shows that on a sufficiently worthy occasion there are no bounds to be set to expence. Conf.

'For 'tis my limited service.'
Macbeth, act ii. sc. 3.

So frequently in the Statute Book of the sixteenth century, e. g. 'Upon the pains forfeitures and penalties in the present estatute limited and expressed.' 37 Henry VIII, cap. 9.

[b] *will keep but of even hand*] Lat. *qui diminutionem fortunarum suarum pati nolit.* Conf. 'Whoso is out of hope to attain to another's virtue will seek to come at even hand by depressing another's fortune.' Essay 9. And, 'Business is bought at a dear hand where there is small dispatch.' Essay 25.

but doubting to[c] bring themselves into melancholy, in respect they shall[d] find it broken: but wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all had need both choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often; for new are more timorous and less subtile. He that can look into his estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties[e]. A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of expence, to be as saving again in some other: as if he be plentiful in diet, to be saving in apparel: if he be plentiful in the hall[f], to be saving in the stable: and the like. For he that is plentiful in expences of all kinds will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a man's estate, he may as well hurt himself in being too sudden as in letting it run on too long; for hasty selling[g] is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse; for finding himself out of straits, he will revert to his customs: but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind[h] as upon his estate. Certainly, who hath a state to repair may not despise small things; and

[c] *doubting to*] i. e. thinking it very possible they may—a sense still retained as a vulgar colloquialism.

[d] *in respect they shall*] i. e. in case they shall. Lat. *si res nimio plus accisas deprehenderint.*

[e] *to turn all to certainties*] i. e. expences as well as in receipts. Lat. *in certos reditus atque etiam sumptus vertere convenit.*

[f] *in the hall*] 'The Hall was the place where the great Lord us'd to eat, (wherefore else were the Halls made so big?), where he saw all his servants and tenants about him. He eat not in private except in time of sickness; when once he became a thing coop'd up, all his greatness was spoil'd.' Selden, Table Talk, *sub voce* Hall. 'Diet,' just above, seems therefore to refer only to the man's own eating and drinking; the hall, to the general table kept for the whole establishment.

[g] *hasty selling* &c.] Lat. *praeproperae enim venditiones jacturam ex usuris saepe exaequant.* Conf. 'Were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their means far under foot.' Essay 41.

[h] *upon his mind*] For this use of 'upon' conf. 'Philosophy doth condemn our want of care and industry if we do not win very much upon ourselves' (i. e. if we do not make effective use of some preservatives against the passions of the mind referred to just before). Letters and Life, ii. 8.

commonly it is less dishonourable to abridge petty charges than to stoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges which once begun will continue: but in matters that return not he may be more magnificent.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 199, l. 3. *for voluntary undoing*] Conf. 'No man's fortune can be an end worthy of his being: and many times the worthiest men do abandon their fortune willingly for better respects.' Works, iii. 456.

P. 200, l. 5. *change them often*] This was the practice of James' favourite, Villiers, whether from policy or from mere caprice. Conf. 'His lordship was bred in a great error, he was so ready to cast a cloud suddenly upon his creatures, and with much inconstancy to root up that which he had planted. A fault too patent against all Apology. He had changed the white staves of the King's Houshold, the Secretaries, the Masters of the Court of Wards, the Chancellors of the Exchequer and many others. Partly it happened because fresh Undertakers came with Proffers and Forecasts which had not been made before. Presently some must be discarded, to make room for those who, albeit in their discharge they did less than their predecessors, yet outbid them in Promises. And partly, which goes together, his Lordship was of very desultorious Affections, quickly weary of those whom he had gratified and apt to resume his favours to make trial upon others . . . From whence it came to pass that his Lordship was often served by bad instruments; for they made too much haste to be Rich, because they knew their turn was coming quickly to be shifted. And it is a weak part to blast the good Turns which a man hath done, and to lose his thanks and the fidelity of his Clients.' Hacket's Life of Abp. Williams, Part i. p. 40.

And again, 'My Lord-Duke was soon satiated with their greatness whom he had advanced. It was the inglorious mark of those thirteen years of his Power to remove Officers. Which was like a sweeping Floud, that at every spring-tide takes from one land and casts it upon another.' Part ii. p. 19.

XXIX.

OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES.

THE speech of Themistocles, the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and censure[a], applied at large to others. Desired at a feast to touch a lute, he said, *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city.* These words (holpen a little with a metaphor) may express two different abilities in those that deal in business of estate; for if a true survey be taken of counsellors and statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle: as, on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as their gift lieth the other way; to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay. And certainly, those degenerate arts and shifts whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the state which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counsellors and governors which may be held sufficient (*negotiis pares*), able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences; which nevertheless are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune. But be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work; that is, the true greatness of kingdoms and estates, and the means thereof.

[a] *censure*] i. e. judgment; a common Latinism. Conf. 'This is not only the wisdom of the laws of the realm, which so defineth of it, but it is also the censure of foreign laws, the conclusion of common reason.' Letters and Life, ii. 281, and *passim*.

An argument[b] fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand; to the end that neither by over-measuring their forces they lose themselves in vain enterprises: nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

The greatness of an estate in bulk and territory doth fall under measure; and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards[c] and maps; but yet there is not anything amongst civil affairs more subject to error than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command; and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like; all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number (itself) in armies importeth not much[d] where the people is of weak courage; for (as Virgil saith), *It never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be.* The army of the Persians in the plains of Arbela was such a vast sea of people as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army, who came to him therefore and wished him to set upon them by night; but he answered, *He would not pilfer the victory:* and the

[b] *an argument*] i.e. subject or theme.

[c] *cards*] i.e. charts. Conf. note on Essay 18. In the edition of 1612 the word is spelt 'carts.'

[d] *importeth not much*] i.e. is not of much importance. Conf. 'the true placing of them importeth exceedingly.' Essay 3.

defeat was easy. When Tigranes, the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, *Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and too few for a fight;* but before the sun set he found them enow to give him the chace with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage: so that a man may truly make a judgment that the principal point of greatness in any state is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said), where the sinews of men's arms in base and effeminate people are failing: for Solon said well to Crœsus (when in ostentation he showed him his gold), *Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold.* Therefore, let any prince or state think soberly of his forces, except his militia[e] of natives be of good and valiant soldiers; and let princes, on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case), all examples show that whatsoever estate or prince doth rest upon them, *he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them*[f] *soon after.*

The blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet; *that the same people or nation should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between burdens;* neither will it be that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true that taxes, levied by consent of the estate, do

[e] *militia*] used, generally, for military force. So below, to employ almost indifferently all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers.

[f] *will mew them*] i. e. will moult or shed them. Lat. *defluent illae.* Conf. 'Who so wil that an hawke mew not nor fal nor of her fethere; therefor here is a medicine.' Heading of a paragraph in the St. Alban's booke of hawking, huntyng, and fysshyng. So in Overbury's characters, *sub tit.* A WHORE, comparing her to a hawk, he says 'and now she has mewed three coats.'

abate men's courage less; as it hath been seen notably in the excises of the Low Countries; and, in some degree, in the subsidies of England; for, you must note that we speak now of the heart and not of the purse; so that although the same tribute and tax laid by consent or by imposing be all one to the purse, yet it works diversely upon the courage. So that you may conclude *that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.*

Let states that aim at greatness take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast; for that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and in effect but the gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice woods; *if you leave your staddles*[g] *too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes.* So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many the commons will be base; and you will bring it to that that not the hundred poll[h] will be fit for an helmet: especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army; and so there will be great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath been nowhere better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory

[g] *your staddles*] Lat. *si major quam par est caudicum sive arborum majorum relinquatur numerus.* Conf.

'Leave growing for staddles the likest and best,
Though seller and buier dispatched the rest.'

Tusser, Five hundreth points of good husbandry. April's husbandry. Chap. xxxviii. stanza 9.

The poem is given at length in Somers' Tracts, vol. iii. (Ed. 1810).

The word, which is obsolete in this country, is (Webster says) still in use in America, where 'trees are called staddles from three or four years old, till they are 6 or 8 inches in diameter: but in this respect the word is indefinite.' Conf. Webster's Dictionary, *sub voce.*

[h] *the hundred poll*] Lat. *centesimum quodque caput.* We find elsewhere a confusion between the cardinal and ordinal forms of this number. Conf. 'And he himself with foure hundreth of the best men he had . . . went straight to the gates of the citie.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 1025. So in Burton's Will, 'an hundredth pound' and 'an hundred punds' are used indifferently. Quoted in Anat. of Melancholy, Preface to Edition of 1837, p. xix. So, too, in the early editions of Tusser, the titles of his poems are 'One hundreth' or 'Five hundreth points of good husbandry.' In the edition of the Essays of 1612 the words corresponding to the text are 'the hundreth pole.'

and population, hath been (nevertheless) an overmatch; in regard[i] the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not: and herein the device of King Henry the Seventh (whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was profound and admirable, in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard, that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings; and thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character, which he gives to ancient Italy:

Terra potens armis atque ubere glebae.

Neither is that state[k] (which, for anything I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found anywhere else, except it be perhaps in Poland) to be passed over; I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen, which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms; and therefore, out of all question, the splendour and magnificence and great retinues and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen received into custom[l] doth much conduce unto martial greatness; whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

[i] *in regard*] = because. Conf. Edmundes, Obs. upon Caesar's Commentaries, lib. vii. cap. 11: 'Next unto the circle, the triangular fortresse is the most unperfect, first in regard it is a figure of less capacitie than any other of equall bounds.' Also, Cobbett's State Trials (Edition 1809), vol. i. p. 1350: 'My Lord's purpose to have men planted at the court was in regard he feared hindrance by private enemies.' Also, 'We lost our traffic with the Americans, with whom, of all others, in regard they lay nearest to us, we had most commerce.' Works, iii. 143.

[k] *that state*] Lat. *illa pars populi.* For this somewhat rare use of state (or estate, the two words are used indifferently) for persons of a certain rank or order, conf. 'A baron is an estate of great dignitie in blood, honour, and habit, a peere of the Realm, and companion of princes.' Segar, Honour Military and Civil, bk. iv. 22, headed 'Of honourable places due to great Estates.'

[l] *received into custom*] Lat. *quae more sunt.*

By all means it is to be procured that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown or state bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger subjects that they govern; therefore all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire; for to think that a handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice people[m] in point of naturalization; whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their boughs were becomen too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any state was in this point so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans; therefore it sorted with them[n] accordingly, for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalization (which they called *jus civitatis*), and to grant it in the highest degree, that is, not only *jus commercii*, *jus connubii*, *jus haereditatis;* but also, *jus suffragii*, and *jus honorum;* and this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole families; yea, to cities and sometimes to nations. Add to this their custom of plantation of colonies, whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations; and, putting both constitutions together, you will say that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the sure way

[m] *a nice people*] i. e. sparing and fastidious; or, as we should now say, particular about. Lat. *parci et difficiles.* Conf. 'A man of disputative valour had need be more nice of reputation than a man of declared valour.' Letters and Life, vi. 112. 'They made it not nice to use' (i. e. they did not shrink from using) 'some one of the ministers of God, by whom the rest might take notice of their faults.' Hooker, Eccl. Pol. bk. vi. chap. 4. sec. 2.

[n] *it sorted with them*] i. e. things turned out in their case. Lat. *par erat instituto tam prudenti fortuna.* Conf. 'Who finding things sort to his desire.' Works, vi. 70.

of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain[o] so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards; but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree, far above Rome and Sparta at the first; and besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, *to employ almost indifferently all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers;* yea, and sometimes in their highest commands; nay, it seemeth at this instant they are sensible of this want of natives; as by the *pragmatical sanction*, now published, appeareth.

It is certain that sedentary and within-door arts and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm), have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition; and generally all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail; neither must they be too much broken of it if they shall be preserved in vigour: therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid[p] those manufactures; but that is abolished in greatest part by the Christian law. That which cometh nearest to it is to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives[q] within those three kinds, tillers of the ground, free servants, and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts, as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c., not reckoning professed soldiers.

But above all, for empire and greatness it importeth most that a nation do profess arms as their principal

[o] *contain*] i. e. hold together or restrain. Lat. *quod fraenare possit.* So below, 'to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds.' 'And it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true band of unity.' Essay 3.

[p] *did rid*] i. e. did get them done. Conf. 'willingness rids way.' 3 Henry VI, act v. sc. 3. The Latin is *istiusmodi opificia expediebantur.*

[p] *the vulgar natives*] Lat. *nativorum plebs.*

honour, study, and occupation; for the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations[r] towards arms; and what is habilitation without intention and act? Romulus, after his death (as they report or feign), sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend[s] arms, and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that scope[t] and end; the Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash[u]; the Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time: the Turks have it at this day, though in great declination. Of Christian Europe, they that have it are in effect only the Spaniards: but it is so plain *that every man profiteth in that he most intendeth*, that it needeth not to be stood upon: it is enough to point at it; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms may look to have greatness fall into their mouths; and on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders; and those that have professed arms but for an age have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms had grown to decay.

Incident to this point is for a state to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions

[r] *habilitations*] i. e. means of attaining ability.

[s] *intend*] i. e. pay steady and hearty attention to. Conf. 'I shall take to me, in this procuration, not Martha's part to be busied in many things, but Mary's part which is to intend your service.' Letters and Life, iv. 391. And, 'The arrowes having barbed heads . . . are not easily pulled out, which maketh the souldiers not to intend the fight untill they be delivered of them.' Edmundes, Obs. on Caesar's Commentaries, lib. vii. cap. 15.

[t] *scope*] i. e. mark or object aimed at. Conf. 'Other errors there are in the scope that men propound to themselves, whereunto they bend their endeavours.' Works, iii. 293.

[u] *a flash*] i. e. something sudden, bright and shortlived. Conf. 'This action is not a flash, but a solid and settled pursuit.' Letters and Life, iv. 122.

(as may be pretended[x]) of war; for there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue), but upon some at the least specious grounds and quarrels. The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect, a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war: first therefore let nations that pretend to greatness have this, that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation: secondly, let them be prest and ready[y] to give aids and succours to their confederates; as it ever was with the Romans; insomuch as if the confederate had leagues defensive with divers other states, and upon invasion offered did implore their aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party or tacit conformity of estate, I do not see how

[x] *pretended*] This word in itself does not necessarily imply that the so-called just occasions are to have a mere pretence of justice in them. But Bacon is here concerned not so much to lay down what are just and proper occasions for taking up arms, as what reasons may be found for entering on an aggressive war without too obvious a violation of natural justice. That this is so is clear, partly from the general scope of the Essay, *de proferendis finibus imperii*, the acquisition of territory being the end aimed at, and war being the appointed means: partly from the words which immediately follow: 'for there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars, (whereof so many calamities ensue) but upon some, at the least, specious grounds and quarrels;' and most clearly of all from the Latin, *justas causas aut saltem praetextus*, which Bacon has recognised as correct, since it appears also in the De Augmentis Scientiarum, Works, i. 800. Conf. for word, 'perill by this salvage man pretended.' Fairy Queen, vi. 4. 10. And, 'by whom his name is never so much pretended as when deepest treachery is meant.' Hooker, Sermon IV (vol. iii. p. 813, Keble's ed. 1836). For the views of Bacon and others as to the legitimate grounds of war, *vide* note on Essay 19.

[y] *prest and ready*] Lat. *prompta sit et alacris*. Conf. 'Evils prest and ready to invade us.' Hooker, Sermon IV (vol. iii. p. 809, Keble's ed., 1836).

they may be well justified: as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Graecia: or when the Lacedaemonians and Athenians made wars to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies: or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression; and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be great that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; and certainly to a kingdom or estate a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war indeed is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for in a slothful peace both courages will effeminate and manners corrupt: but howsoever it be for happiness, without all question for greatness it maketh to be still for the most part[z] in arms; and the strength of a veteran army (though it be a chargeable business), always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law, or at least the reputation amongst all neighbour states, as may well be seen in Spain, which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually now by the space of six-score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgment[a] of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey his preparation against Caesar, saith, *Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est; putat enim qui mari potitur eum rerum potiri;* and without doubt Pompey had tired out Caesar if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea: the battle of Actium decided the empire of the world; the battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness

[z] *still for the most part*] Lat. *quasi semper*. Conf. 'The best hath still prevailed and suppressed the rest.' Works, iii. 291. The corresponding passage in the De Augm. Scient. gives '*semper* obtinuisse.' Works, i. 460.

[a] *an abridgment* &c.] Lat. *monarchiae quaedam epitome est.*

of the Turk. There be many examples where sea-fights have been final to the war: but this is when princes or states have set up their rest[b] upon the battles. But thus much is certain; that he that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will; whereas those that be strongest by land are many times nevertheless in great straits. Surely at this day with us of Europe the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely[c] inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessary to the command of the seas.

The wars of latter ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect of the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry, which nevertheless are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers; and some remembrance perhaps upon the scutcheon, and some hospitals for maimed soldiers, and such like things; but in ancient times, the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal; the style of emperor[d] which the great kings of the world after borrowed; the triumphs of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies,

[b] *have set up their rest*] i. e. have staked everything. Lat. *cum aleae hujusmodi praeliorum totius belli fortuna commissa est. Vide* Notes and Illustrations at end of Essay.

[c] *not merely*] i. e. not entirely. Lat. *mediterranea simpliciter non sunt.*

[d] *emperor*] i. e. imperator, not only the ordinary name of a commander-in-chief, but sometimes employed as a special title of honour for distinguished military service. Conf. 'Sed hoc primum faciam, ut Imperatores appellem eos, quorum virtute, consilio, felicitate, maximis periculis servitutis atque interitus liberati sumus.' Cicero, Philipp. xiv. 4. sec. 11, and *passim.*

were things able to inflame all men's courages; but above all, that of the triumph amongst the Romans was not pageants or gaudery[e], but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was; for it contained three things; honour to the general, riches to the treasury out of the spoils, and donatives to the army: but that honour perhaps were not fit for monarchies, except it be in the person of the monarch himself or his sons; as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons for such wars as they did achieve in person, and left only for wars achieved by subjects some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general.

To conclude: no man can by *by care taking* (as the Scripture saith), *add a cubit to his stature* in this little model[f] of a man's body; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths it is in the power of princes or estates to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms; for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession: but these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

Notes and Illustrations.

This Essay, in its final form, was first published as part of the De Augmentis Scientiarum. Its subject is there given as one of the 'tria officia politica, primo ut imperium conservetur: secundo ut beatum efficiatur et florens: tertio ut amplificetur finesque ejus longius proferantur: de duobus primis officiis maximâ ex parte egregie a nonnullis tractatum est: de tertio siletur. Illud itaque inter desiderata reponemus et more nostro Exemplum ejus pro-

[e] *gaudery*] i. e. things showy and worthless. Lat. *spectaculum quoddam inane*. Conf. 'An idle gaud
Which in my childhood I did dote upon.'
Midsummer Night's Dream, iv. 1.

[f] *model*] i. e. plan. The words mean therefore—in a man's body, this thing on a small plan.

ponemus ; eam doctrinae partem *Consulem paludatum* sine doctrinam *de proferendis imperii finibus* nominantes.' Works, i. 792.

This latter is kept as the title of the Essay in the Latin version. The English title is misleading. The promise which it implies is not observed. The 'true greatness' of which Bacon writes is greatness in extent of territory, acquired or held by arms, and the counsels which he gives are subsidiary to this. Military strength is thus put forward as the grand object at which a statesman ought to aim. This strength he must seek or invent occasions to employ. So only can he hope that his country will attain the true greatness which comes of an extended territory. The thing is to be done upon a plan. There is danger in over-extension with no corresponding strength to maintain it. But this danger may be averted if the general policy of the country is shaped properly. Extension of territory demands care and forethought. For those who aspire to it, Rome is the most fit model. There must not only be readiness to pick quarrels, but there must be strength and numbers competent to maintain them and go through with them and to hold the spoil when it has been won. The state which proceeds thus will gain the desired end, and the glory and greatness which it brings.

This laudation of war and of warlike arts seems out of place in the mouth of one who claims to be the special advocate of science and of industrial progress. It is out of agreement with what Bacon has written elsewhere in praise of peace, most notably in his letter of advice to Sir George Villiers: 'For matter of war, either by land or sea, your gracious Master [is] so settled in his judgment for peace, as he hath chosen for his motto that part of our Saviour's beatitudes, Beati pacifici. It is a happiness to this nation to be in this blessed condition.' Letters and Life, vi. 20. Compare this with the Essay, *passim*.

'Above all for empire and greatness, it importeth most that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study and occupation: for the things of which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations towards arms, and what is habilitation without intention and act? No body can be healthful without exercise . . . and certainly to a kingdom or estate, a just and honourable war is the true exercise,' &c. It cannot be said that Bacon in his Essay is speaking in praise of readiness for defensive war, the necessity of which he admits and urges in his letter to Sir George Villiers. The Essay strikes another note. The State, as Bacon would have it, is 'to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as may be pretended) of war.' Lat. *justas causas aut saltem praetextus, arma capessendi.* These are recommended as essential to the main design by which the nation's policy is to be moulded—the acquisition of territory, or, as Bacon here terms it, 'true greatness.'

An explanation may perhaps be found in the history of the Essay. The germ of the Essay is found in a paper on 'the true greatness of the kingdom of Britain,' written in 1608, but not published. The design of the paper is to recommend for Britain the policy of territorial acquisitiveness which the Essay recommends in more general terms, and to prove that Britain is fitted in every way for adopting it with success. Bacon, at this date, had just begun to mount, after a long series of disappointments. In 1607 he had been made Solicitor-General, and he was looking out eagerly for further advancement. Some passages in his private memoranda show the schemes by which he was hoping to rise. Salisbury was the peace-minister of a peace-loving master. If James could be tempted away from his love of peace, he might need a new agent to carry out a new policy. This therefore Bacon was planning to bring about.—Persuade the king in glory, 'Aurea condet saecula.' 'Succeed Salisbury and amuse the King and Prince with pastime and glory.' 'Finishing my treatise of the greatness of Britain with aspect ad politiam.' 'The fairest . . . is the general persuading to King and people, and course of infusing everywhere the foundation in this isle of a monarchy in the west, as an apt seat state people for it: so civilizing Ireland, further colonizing the wild of Scotland. Annexing the Low Countries.' Letters and Life, iv. 73 and 74. The memoranda and the paper thus explain one another. Their author was looking out for advancement, and he chose his means accordingly. We need not suppose that he had any love for war, or that he thought that the aim after territorial greatness would bring any benefit to his country. If it served himself, it was enough, and he put together his first paper with aspect ad politiam, to be used as the occasion might offer. The occasion was to come but not yet, and the paper remained unpublished and unused. In the second edition of the Essays, published in 1612, there appears a short Essay 'on the greatness of kingdoms,' in which an honourable foreign war is spoken of as 'one of several means of exercise by which a state may keep healthe,' and is preferred to 'a slothful peace.' In the corresponding sentence in the edition of 1625, there is nothing said about the other means of exercise, and war is declared to be 'the true exercise without which no Body politic can be healthful.' Will it be doing Bacon an injustice to assume that in his Essay, as in his paper addressed to the Prince in favour of a war with Spain (Letters and Life, vii. 460), he was suiting his statements to the time, and that finding Charles and Buckingham the ruling influences in the State and eagerly pressing forward the war with Spain, he threw the weight of his authority into the heavier scale, and became the open panegyrist of war, just as at an earlier date and for like reasons he had been eloquent in the praise of peace?

P. 202, l. 2. *haughty and arrogant*] As Plutarch tells the story in his life of Themistocles it was a defensive arrogance. Conf. 'Being mocked afterwards by some that had studied humanity and other liberall sciences, he was driven for revenge and his owne defence to answer with great and stout words, saying that indeed he could no skill to tune a harp nor a violl, nor to play of a psalterion: but if they did put a city into his hands that was of small name weake and litle, he knew wayes inough to make it noble, strong, and great.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 117, North's Trans.

In the Life of Cimon a different version is given of it. 'Ion writeth that he being but a young boy, newly come from Chio unto Athens, supped one night with Cimon at Laomedon's house, and that after supper when they had given the gods thankes, Cimon was intreated by the company to sing. And he did sing with so good a grace, that every man praised him that heard him, and sayd he was more curteous then Themistocles farre: who being in like company, and requested also to play upon the citherne, answered them, he was never taught to sing nor play upon the citherne, howbeit he could make a poor village to become a rich and mightie citie.' p. 498.

l. 21. *There are also* &c.] Bacon ranks this lowest among the 'degrees of honour in subjects;' *vid.* Essay 55. It is the kind of ability with which he credits his cousin, the Earl of Salisbury, when he is writing about him after his death: 'If I should praise him in propriety I should say that he was a fit man to keep things from growing worse, but no very fit man to reduce things to be much better.' Letters and Life, iv. 279, and note on page 278. Of the living Earl he speaks in very different terms; iv. 12.

l. 22. *negotiis pares, able to manage affairs*] That is, a match for business as it presents itself, although not able to strike out an original plan of their own. 'Par negotiis neque supra erat' is the depreciatory praise which Tacitus gives to an administrator of the type which Bacon is describing. Ann. vi. 39.

P. 203, l. 26. *as Virgil saith*]

> 'Hic tantum Boreae curamus frigora quantum
> Aut numerum lupus, aut torrentia flumina ripas.'
>
> Ecl. vii. 51, 52.

Forbiger, following Heyne, explains this that the wolf will pay no regard to the fact that the sheep have been counted over by the shepherd, so that all that he takes will be missed. Conington interprets the line as Bacon does.

l. 28. *The army of the Persians* &c.] 'The auncient captaines of the Macedonians, specially Parmenio, seeing all the valley betwixt the river of Niphates and the mountaines of the Gordieians all on a

bright light with the fires of the barbarous people, and hearing a dreadfull noise as of a confused multitude of people that filled their campe with the sound thereof; they were amazed, and consulted that in one day it was in maner impossible to fight a battell with such an incredible multitude of people. Thereupon they went unto Alexander after he had ended his ceremonies, and did counsell him to give battell by night, because the darknesse thereof should helpe to keepe all feare from his men, which the sight of their enemies would bring them into. But then he gave them this notable answer: I will not steale victorie, quoth he.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 689.

P. 204, l. 1. *When Tigranes* &c.] 'The Romaines seemed but a handfull to Tigranes campe, so that for awhile Tigranes parasites made but a May-game of them to sport withall . . . Tigranes then because he would shew that he could be as pleasant as the rest, spake a thing knowne to every man: If they come as Ambassadors (quoth he) they are very many: but if they come as enemies they be but few.' Plutarch, Lives, 525.

l. 12. *the sinews of war*] 'Nervos belli, pecuniam infinitam.' Cic. Philipp. v. 2. 'Sed nihil aeque fatigabat quam pecuniarum conquisitio: eos esse belli civilis nervos dictitans Mucianus.' Tac. Hist. ii. 84. Conf. also, 'He that first said that money was the sinew of all things, spake it chiefly, in my opinion, in respect of the wars.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 818. *ὑποτέτμηται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων* is cited by Aeschines as a phrase used by Demosthenes in Ctesiph. p. 77, l. 28. *Τὸν πλοῦτον νεῦρα πραγμάτων* is given by Diogenes Laertius among the sayings of Bion; Bk. iv. sec. 48. 'Quum sese sociorum . . . sanguine implerint, incidant nervos Populi Romani, adhibeant manus vectigalibus vestris, irrumpant in aerarium.' Cic. De Lege Agraria, bk. ii. cap. 18. 'Vectigalia nervos esse Reipublicae semper duximus.' Pro Lege Manilia, cap. 7. 'Emptio frumenti ipsos Reipublicae nervos exhauriebat aerarium.' Florus, Epitome, iii. 13. 9. 'Especially remember that money is *nervus belli*' is also King James' remark. Basil. Doron, bk. ii.

On the other side, conf. 'Nor is there anything more false than that common opinion that affirms Moneys to be the sinews of warre . . . which sentence is alledgd every day, and followed, too, by some Princes not quite so wise as they should be . . . Among other things that Croesus King of Lydia shewd to Solon the Athenian was a Treasure unmeasurable; and asking him what he thought of his power, Solon answered him, he thought him no whit the more powerful for that, for warre was made with iron and not with gold, and some one might come who had more iron than he and take his gold from him . . . Wherefore I say that gold, as the common opinion cryes it up, is not the sinews of warre, but a good armie of stout souldiers: for gold is not sufficient to finde good souldiers, but good

souldiers are able well to find out gold.' Machiavelli, Discourses on Livy, ii. 10.

The Emperor Charles V took a middle view, but he comes finally to much the same conclusion as Machiavelli: 'Nervos belli esse pecuniam, commeatus, milites; verum si ex iis aliquo carendum esset, militem veteranum se electurum esse, cujus industria et fortitudine reliqua duo se ex hoste comparaturum consideret.' De Carolo V imperatore, oratio Davidis Chythraei.

l. 14. *Solon said well* &c.] This and much else of this part of the Essay appears also in Bacon's speech for general naturalization. Letters and Life, iii. 323.

The story of Solon and Croesus is from Lucian :—

ΣΟΛ. *Εἰπέ μοι, σίδηρος δὲ φύεται ἐν Λυδίᾳ;*

ΚΡΟΙΣ. *Οὐ πάνυ τι . . .*

ΣΟΛ. *Ἆρ' οὖν, ἣν Κῦρος (ὡς λογοποιοῦσί τινες) ἐπίῃ Λυδοῖς, χρυσᾶς μαχαίρας σὺ ποιήσῃ τῷ στρατῷ, ἢ ὁ σίδηρος ἀναγκαῖος τότε;*

ΚΡΟΙΣ. *Ὁ σίδηρος δηλαδή.*

ΣΟΛ. *Καὶ εἴγε μὴ τοῦτον παρασκευάσαιο, οἴχοιτο ἄν σοι ὁ χρυσὸς ἐς Πέρσας αἰχμάλωτος.*

ΚΡΟΙΣ. *Εὐφήμει, ὦ ἄνθρωπε.* Charon, sive Contemplantes.

l. 22. *mercenary forces*] Conf. Machiavelli, Il Principe, cap. xii: 'Le mercenarie ed auxiliarj sono inutile e pericolose, e se uno tiene lo stato suo fondato in su le armi mercenarie, non starà mai fermo nè sicuro, perchè le sono disunite ambiziose, e senza disciplina, infedeli &c. . . . La cagione di questo è, che le non hanno altro amore nè altra cagione che le tenga in campo, che un poco di stipendio, il quale non è sufficiente a fare che e' vogliano morire per te . . . La qual cosa dovrei durar poca fatica a persuadere, perchè la rovina d' Italia non è ora causata da altra cosa che per essere in spazio di molti anni riposatasi in sulle armi mercenarie . . . Onde è che a Carlo re di Francia fu lecito pigliare Italia col gesso,' &c.

He further instances the Carthaginians, the Milanese, the Neapolitans and others from ancient and from modern times. 'Admonendi quoque sunt principes ut potius proprio milite quam externo (qui non tam pro gloria quam stipendio militant) in bello utantur,' &c. Reasons and illustrations are added. Ayala, De jure et officiis bellicis, iii. 4. 16.

l. 30. *taxes, levied by consent* &c.] So Howel, writing from Amsterdam in 1619, says, ''Twere cheap living here, were it not for the monstrous Accises which are impos'd upon all sorts of Commodities both for Belly and Back; for the Retailer payes the States almost the one Moity as much as he payed for the Commodity at first, nor doth any murmur at it, because it goes not to any Favorit, or private Purse, but to preserve them from the Spaniard, their common enemy as they term him; so that the saying is truly verified here, *Defend*

me, and spend me. With this accise principally, they maintain all their Armies by Sea and Land, with their Garrisons at home and abroad, both here and in the Indies, and defray all other public charges besides.' Familiar Letters, vol. i. letter 7. p. 12 (ed. 1678).

Conf. also Essay 14: 'The United Provinces of the Low Countries in their government excel; for where there is an equality the consultations are more indifferent and the payments and tributes more cheerful.'

Sir Thomas Overbury, in his Observations on the xvii Provinces, speaks of their public revenue, in 1609, as derived from, *inter alia*, 'Taxes upon all things at home, and Impositions upon all merchandizes from abroad.' The people he describes as 'Just, surly, and respectlesse, as in all democracies.' *Vide* ed. 1626, small 4to., pp. 5 and 8.

P. 205, l. 9. *Let states that aim* &c.] Conf. 'It hath been held by the general opinion of men of best judgment in the wars . . . that the principal strength of an army consisteth in the infantry or foot. And to make good infantry it requireth men bred not in a servile or indigent fashion, but in some free and plentiful manner. Therefore if a state run most to noblemen and gentlemen, and that the husbandmen and ploughmen be but as their workfolks or labourers, or else mere cottagers (which are but housed beggars) you may have a good cavalry but never good stable bands of foot; like to coppice woods, that if you leave in them staddles too thick, they will run to bushes and briars, and have little clean underwood. And this is to be seen in France and Italy (and some other parts abroad), where in effect all is noblesse or peasantry (I speak of people out of towns), and no middle people: and therefore no good forces of foot,' &c. Works, vi. 94, 95.

l. 19. *which is the nerve of an army*] Conf. 'The ground-worke and the very nerves of the armie, and whereof most account is to be made, is the Infantery. And among the Italian princes faults, which have enthrall'd Italy to strangers, there is none greater than this that they made no account of this order and turnd all their regard of horsemen . . . Which custome, together with many other disorders intermixt with it, hath much weakened the Italian Souldiery, so that this country hath easily been troden under foot by all strangers.' Machiavelli, Discourses, ii. 18.

P. 206, l. 3. *which the peasants of France do not*] Conf. 'Le fanterie che si fanno in Francia non possono essere molto buone, perchè gli è gran tempo che non hanno avuto guerra, e per questo non hanno sperienza alcuna. E dipoi sono per le terre tutti ignobili e genti di mestiero, e stanno tanto sotto-posti à nobili, e tanto sono in ogni azione depressi, che sono vili, e però si vede che il re nelle guerre non si serve di loro, perchè fanno cattiva prova, benchè vi siano i

Guasconi, de' quali il re si serve, che sono un poco migliori che gli altri . . . Ma hanno fatto, per quello che si è visto da molti anni in qua, più prova di ladri che di valenti uomini.' Machiavelli, Ritratti delle cose di Francia. Works, vol. iv. p. 135 (ed. 1813).

And, 'The meere peasants that labour the ground, they are only spunges to the King, the Church, and the nobility, having nothing of their own, but to the use of them, and are scarce allowed (as Beasts) enough to keep them able to do service.' Overbury, Obs. on the xvii provinces, of the Archduke's county and of France, p. 16 (ed. 1626).

'The weaknesse of it (i. e. of France) are first the want of a sufficient Infantry, which proceeds from the ill distribution of their wealth; for the Peysant, which containes the greatest part of the people, having no share allowed him is heartlesse and feeble and consequently unserviceable for all military uses.' p. 19.

l. 3. *herein the device* &c.] Conf. Essay 15, p. 108, on the legislation about farms and pasturages.

l. 11. *Virgil's character*] Aen. I. 531.

l. 14. *Neither is that state* &c.] The feudàl custom which Bacon here praises as conducing to martial greatness was not found to conduce to peace at home, and it was discouraged accordingly and attempts were made to put a check upon it by legal enactments. Conf. *inter alia*, 1 Henry IV, cap. 7, by which, 'to eschew maintenance and to nourish love, peace, and quietness in all parts, the giving or wearing of liveries (the recognized dress of dependents and retainers) is forbidden.' By 7 Henry IV, cap. 14, 'liveries are forbidden to all but menials and officers of the household.' By 8 Henry VI, cap. 4, none are to buy or wear livery to have maintenance in any quarrel. In 8 Edward IV, cap. 2, daily offences are said to have been committed against former laws; the laws are therefore renewed and provision is made for due execution of them. These and other earlier and later statutes to the same effect are recited and repealed by 3 Charles I, cap. 4 (5). They were in force therefore in Bacon's time. In Mary's reign 39 licences were granted for wearing liveries: in Elizabeth's reign 15, in James the First's a larger number. What view Henry VII took of 'great retinues' we learn from a story in Bacon's life of him:—

'There remaineth to this day a report, that the King was on a time entertained by the Earl of Oxford (that was his principal servant both for war and peace) nobly and sumptuously, at his castle at Henningham. And at the King's going away, the Earl's servants stood in a seemly manner in their livery coats with cognizances ranged on both sides, and made the King a lane. The King called the Earl to him, and said, "My lord, I have heard much of your hospitality, but I see it is greater than the speech. These handsome

gentlemen and yeomen which I see on both sides of me are (sure) your menial servants." The Earl smiled and said, "It may please your Grace, that were not for mine ease. They are most of them my retainers, that are comen to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your Grace." The King started a little, and said, "By my faith, (my lord) I thank you for my good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you." And it is part of the report, that the Earl compounded for no less than fifteen thousand marks.' Works, vi. 220.

Mr. Spedding adds, in a note, that a heavier fine for a similar offence was exacted from Lord Abergavenny some years afterwards. In a memorandum of sums received by Edmund Dudley for fines to be paid to the King, the following item appears: 'Item: delivered three exemplifications under the seal of the L. of King's Bench of the confession and condemnation of the Lord Burgavenny for such retainers as he was indicted of in Kent: which amounteth unto for his part only after the rate of the months 69,900*l.*'

Sir Thomas More speaks of 'that state,' but not as approvingly as Bacon does. Conf. 'There is a great numbre of gentlemen, which cannot be content to live idle themselves . . . but also carrye about with them at their tailes a great flocke or traine of idle and loyterynge servyngmen, which never learned any craft wherby to gette their livynges.' Trans. of More's Utopia, Arber's Reprint, p. 38.

P. 207, l. 2. *Nebuchadnezzar's tree*] Daniel iv. 10 *et seqq.*

l. 2. *Be great enough to bear* &c.] This simile is from Machiavelli, who applies it, as Bacon does, to Sparta, as contrasted with Rome:—'Those that intend a city should farre inlarge the bounds of her dominions, ought withall indeavour provide that she be well fraught with inhabitants: for without a great multitude of men in her she will never be able to grow great. And this is done two wayes, either by love or by force; by love, holding the wayes open and secure to strangers that might have a deseigne to come and dwell in it, to the end that everyone might come willingly to inhabit it. By force, ruining and defaceing the neighbour cities and sending out the inhabitants thereof to dwell in thine: all which was punctually observed in Rome . . . And that this course was necessary and good for the founding and inlarging of an Empire, the example of Sparta and Athens shewes us plaine . . . Which proceeded not from that the scituation of Rome was more bountifull than theirs, but onely from the different course they tooke: for Licurgus, founder of the Spartan Republique, considering that nothing could sooner take away the power of his lawes than a commixture of new inhabitants, did what he could to hinder strangers from living with them . . . And because all our actions imitate nature, it is neither possible nor naturall that the slender body of a tree should beare a grosse bow;

therefore a small Republique cannot hold cities nor kingdoms of greater power and strength than she herselfe is; and if perchance it comes to passe that she layes hold on them, it befalls her as it does that tree the bowes whereof are greater than the body, that sustaining it with much adoe, with every small blast it is broken, as we see it happened to Sparta . . . Which could never befall Rome, having her body and stocke so huge that it was of force with ease to support any bow whatsoever.' Discourses on Livy, ii. cap. 3.

l. 14. *Never any state was* &c.] 'The authority of Nicholas Machiavel seemeth not to be contemned; who enquiring the causes of the growth of the Roman empire, doth give judgment there was not one greater than this, that the state did so easily compound and incorporate with strangers.' Letters and Life, iii. 96.

l. 17. *Their manner was* &c.] It is hardly correct to term this the 'manner' of the Romans. It was a concession which they were forced to make under the strain of the Social war, B. C. 90. Before this time the 'jus civitatis' did not, in the great majority of cases, carry with it more than imperfect rights of citizenship. Its possessors had not the franchise, the 'jus suffragii' and the 'jus honorum,' nor was it any part of the design of Rome in the settlement of Italy to make a wholesale grant of the fuller privileges which she was unable finally to withhold.

P. 208, l. 2. *so few natural Spaniards*] Conf. 'Spain is a nation thin sown of people; partly by reason of the sterility of the soil, and partly because their natives are exhausted by so many employments in such vast territories as they possess. So that it hath been accounted a kind of miracle to see ten or twelve thousand native Spaniards in an army . . . They tell a tale of a Spanish ambassador that was brought to see the treasury of S. Mark at Venice, and still he looked down to the ground; and being asked why he so looked down, said *he was looking to see whether their treasure had any root* (*so that if it were spent it would grow again*) *as his master's had.* But howsoever it be of their treasure, certainly their forces have scarce any root; or at least such a root as buddeth forth poorly and slowly.' Letters and Life, vii. 499.

l. 9. *their highest commands*] E. g. Several of their commanders came from a Roman family—the Colonna. Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, was put in chief command in the Netherlands on their revolt against Philip II. Spinola, a Genoese by birth, was also commander-in-chief of their armies at a later period of the revolt. There are numerous other instances.

l. 10. '*pragmatical sanction*,' *now published*] Lat. *hoc anno promulgata*, i. e. in 1622, the date at which the Essay was published in its original form as part of the De Augmentis Scientiarum. The pragmatic sanction here referred to was published by Philip IV soon

after his accession. It gave certain privileges to persons who married and further immunities to those who had six children. In this, and in other points, it seems to have been a first attempt to give effect to the recommendations made in 1619 by the council of Castile, whose report on the state of the country and the reasons and remedies is known as the *Gran Consulta de* 1619. The report speaks very strongly of the distress and depopulation of the Castilian provinces, and assigns as its main causes the excessive and oppressive taxation, the increase of luxury and the non-residence of the rich on their estates. That something was thought due to the increase in the number of religious houses may also be assumed from the recommendation to the king to be cautious in granting them new licences. The substance of this note is taken from Mr. Spedding's note on the corresponding passage in the De Aug. Scient. Works, i. 798.

P. 209, l. 4. *Romulus*] This was the message, as Livy tells it, conveyed to the Romans by Proculus Julius, to whom Romulus appeared after his death: 'Abi, nuntia, inquit, Romanis caelestes ita velle ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit: proinde rem militarem colant; sciantque et ita posteris tradant nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse.' Bk. i. cap. 16.

l. 11. *the Turks have it at this day* &c.] Busbequius, in his 'De re militari contra Turcam instituendâ consilium,' contrasts the unity and discipline and severe manners of the Turks with the laxity and disunion of the Christian powers, and he dreads accordingly the conflict which he foresees between the two. In the previous century Camerarius, 'De rebus Turcicis Commentarii,' writes in the same sense.

P. 211, l. 1. *as when the Romans* &c.] In the second Macedonian war, one chief ground of quarrel between the Romans and King Philip of Macedon was the refusal of the King to withdraw his garrisons and to leave Greece free. When the war ended with the victory of the Romans, the result was proclaimed by a herald at the Isthmian Games, B. C. 196, in the following words: '"Senatus Romanus et T. Quintius Imperator, Philippo Rege Macedonibusque devictis, liberos, immunes, suis legibus esse jubet Corinthios, Phocenses, Locrensesque omnes, et insulam Euboeam, et Magnetas, Thessalos, Perrhaebos, Achaeos Phthiotas." Percensuerat omnes gentes quae sub ditione Philippi regis fuerant.' Livy, bk. xxxiii. chap. 32.

The benefit was received with a mixed surprise and gratitude, 'esse aliquam in terris gentem quae sua impensa, suo labore et periculo bella gerat pro libertate aliorum,' &c., chap. 33. But the demand of the Romans upon Philip must be reckoned among the 'praetextus arma capessendi' rather than among the 'justae aut verae causae.'

l. 2. *when the Lacedaemonians* &c.] The Peloponnesian war,

in which the two contending parties supported and received support from the oligarchical and democratical factions respectively, affords frequent examples of this. *Οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ἔχοντες φόρου τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἡγοῦντο, κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐπιτηδείως ὅπως πολιτεύσωσι θεραπεύοντες.* Thucyd. bk. i. cap. 19. During the course of the war, the establishment of an oligarchy or a democracy was the sign and attendant of a revolt to the Lacedaemonian or Athenian side, and was aided and resisted accordingly. 'To set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies' became thus an essential part of the conduct of the war and must not be judged as an uncalled-for piece of interference with the affairs of a neighbouring state.

l. 11. *war is the true exercise*] This laudation of war goes far beyond the language of 1612: 'An honourable forraine war is like the heate of exercise. At least, discoveries, navigations, honourable succours of other States may keepe health.' In 1625 we find terms of praise added, and the alternatives omitted.

l. 12. *like the heat of a fever*] This simile appears elsewhere in Bacon. Conf. 'Then followeth . . . an offer of an usurpation, though it was but as *febris ephemera*.' Works, iii. 336.

'The King of Scotland labouring of the same disease that King Henry did (though more mortal as afterwards appeared) that is, discontented subjects apt to rise and raise tumult;' Works, vi. 62; 'and when the King was advertised of this new insurrection, being almost a fever that took him every year;' p. 89.

It had been used by Montaigne, in a like contrast between foreign and civil war: 'Il y en a plusieurs en ce temps qui discoûrent de pareille façon, souhaitants que cette esmotion chalereuse qui est parmi nous se peust deriver à quelque guerre voisine, de peur que ces humeurs peccantes qui dominent pour cette heure nostre corps, si on ne les escoule ailleurs, maintiennent nostre fiebvre tousjours en force, et apportent enfin nostre entiere ruine.' Essays, bk. ii. chap. 23.

l. 14. *a slothful peace*] So Bacon, writing in 1592, says, 'It is a better condition of an inward peace to be accompanied with some exercise of no dangerous war in foreign parts, than to be utterly without apprentisage of war, whereby people grow effeminate and unpractised when occasion shall be.' Letters and Life, i. 174.

l. 25. *Cicero, writing to Atticus*] 'Pompeium . . . cujus omne consilium Themistocleum est; existimat enim, qui mare teneat, eum necesse (esse) rerum potiri.' Ad Atticum, x. 8.

P. 212, l. 3. *have set up their rest*] This phrase is explained by Nares (Glossary) as 'a metaphor from primero: meaning to stand upon the cards you have in your hand. Hence, to make up your mind; to be determined.'

This is not accurate. The stake at primero and the rest were not the same. The stake appears to have been the sum played for in any case: the rest was a further sum ventured by a player who held cards strong enough to warrant him in forcing the game. Conf. 'What is the sum that we play for? Two shillings stake and eight shillings rest.' Singer, Hist. of Playing Cards, Chap. on Primero. Cavendish (Card Essays, pp. 57 *et seqq.*) gives an account of the 'principal features of primero, as far as they can be made out from old descriptions which are very obscure.' There are numerous illustrative stories and quotations in both the above writers.

For the metaphor in the text, conf. Letters and Life, vii. p. 488: 'They durst not put it to a battle at sea, but set up their rest wholly upon the land enterprise.'

Also, North's Plutarch's Lives, p. 945: 'Then Antonius, seeing there was no way more honourable for him to die than fighting valiantly; he determined to set up his rest both by sea and land.'

For the derived use of the phrase = to make up your mind, to be determined, conf. Letters and Life, i. 345: 'I do write this, not to solicit your Lordship to stand firm in assisting me, . . . but to acquaint your Lordship with my resolution to set up my rest and employ my uttermost strength to get him placed before the term.'

The phrase is of frequent occurrence in both the above senses.

l. 9. *principal dowries*] Conf. Advice to Villiers, where Bacon states in detail the various advantages which England has over other nations in building and manning ships. Letters and Life, vi. 44, 45.

And, 'Your majesty's dominion and empire comprehendeth all the islands of the north-west ocean, where it is open, until you come to the imbarred or frozen sea towards Iceland: in all which tract it hath no intermixture or interposition of any foreign land, but only of the sea, whereof you are also absolutely master.' Of the true greatness of Britain, Works, vii. 54.

The early part of Hakluyt abounds with facts or legends on the English mastery over the sea, from the time of King Edgar downwards.

Conf. also, 'The politie of keeping the Sea' (date early in 15th century). Hakluyt, i. 207: 'For foure things our Noble sheweth to me; King, Ship, and Swerde, and power of the see.' A note at the margin adds, 'Quatuor considerantur in monetâ aureâ Anglicâ quae dicitur Nobile: scilicet Rex, Navis, gladius et Mare. Quae designant potestatem Anglicorum super mare.'

Selden's Mare Clausum, bk. ii, asserts, with proofs, this sovereignty of England over the sea from the earliest times. He claims the dominion of the sea as an ancient and inseparable appendage to the ownership of the land of Britain. He begins by fixing the limits of this dominion. Over the narrow seas the dominion is complete. It

extends to the East and South as far as the shores of the opposite European countries. To the North and West it is complete for some uncertain distance, and extends beyond this in a somewhat modified form. He does not claim the whole Atlantic to the West Indies, and the whole stretch of sea to the North as comprised within English dominion, but he goes far in both directions, and claims special rights over the whole. He cites numerous instances in which this sovereignty was either held or asserted or admitted, e. g. in cap. xxiii, Edward III writes to Geoffry de Say, Commander of the Southern and Western Sea, 'Nos advertentes quod progenitores nostri, Reges Angliae, domini Maris Anglicani circumquaque, et etiam defensores contra hostium invasiones exstiterint; et plurimum nos taederet si honor noster regius in defensione hujusmodi nostris (quod absit) depereat temporibus, aut in aliquo minuatur,' &c.

He writes also in like terms to John de Norwich, Commander of the Northern Sea. His Parliament is shown to have addressed him by the title of 'Maris Rex.'

Henry the Fifth's Parliament uses language to the same import, 'cum Rex, dominus noster supremus, et illustres ejus progenitores, perpetuo fuerint Domini Maris.' This is Selden's translation of the original Norman-French. Prynne, in the course of his 'Animadversions on Coke's Institutes,' covers the same ground. Conf. especially cap. xxii, where he enumerates successive acts and claims of ownership from A. D. 905 onwards.

An instance of the claim to dominion over the sea, conclusive if authentic, is found in the ordinance issued by King John, A. D. 1200, that every ship meeting his fleet at sea should lower her sails at the command of his admiral, on pain of seizure and forfeiture. But Sir N. H. Nicolas, in his History of the Royal Navy, i. 154–157, gives reasons against its authenticity.

But see, *per contra:* 'There belongs to this State 20,000 vessels of all sorts, so that if the Spaniard were entirely beaten out of those parts, the Kings of France and England would take as much paines to suppresse as ever they did to raise them: For being our Enemies, they are able to give us the law at Sea, and eat us out of all trade, much more the French, having at this time three ships for our one, though none so good as our best.' Overbury, Obs. on xvii provinces, p. 5.

'We were too strong for him (the Spaniard) at sea, and had the Hollanders to help us, who are now strongest of all.' Raleigh, Discourse touching a Marriage of Henry, Prince of Wales; Lansdowne MSS. 213.

l. 12. *wealth of both Indies*] Conf. 'Spaine hath the advantage of both the rest in treasure, but is defective in men; his dominions are scattered and the conveyance of his treasure from the Indies lyes

obnoxious to the power of any nation that is stronger by sea.' Overbury, Obs. on the xvii provinces, &c. p. 21.

And, in Bacon's 'Notes of a Speech concerning a war with Spain:' 'If we truly consider the greatness of Spain, it consisteth chiefly in their treasure; and their treasure in the Indies and their Indies (both of them) is but an accession to such as are masters by sea.' Letters and Life, vii. 464.

P. 213, l. 14. *as the Scripture saith*] Matth. vi. 27; Luke xii. 25.

XXX.

OF REGIMEN OF HEALTH.

THERE is a wisdom in this[a] beyond the rules of physic: a man's own observation what he finds good of and what he finds hurt of is the best physic to preserve health; but it is a safer conclusion to say, *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it;* than this, *I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it:* for strength of nature[b] in youth passeth over many excesses which are owing a man till his age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the same things still; for age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of diet, and, if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it; for it is a secret both in nature and state[c], that it is safer to

[a] *in this*] If we follow the Latin, 'in this' = in this matter, in this regimen of health. *In regimine valetudinis, invenire est quandam prudentiam ultra regulas medicinae,* the title of the Essay being thus incorporated with the text. But it is not uncommon with Bacon to use a demonstrative pronoun, whose corresponding noun comes in a subsequent clause. 'In this,' therefore, may be = 'in a man's own observation.' Conf. 'It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter. There is a master of scoffing,' &c. Essay 3. And, 'It is a trivial grammar-school text. Question was asked of Demosthenes,' &c. Essay 12. In both these cases, the *it* stands unexplained by anything before it, or by any part of the clause in which it occurs.

[b] *strength of nature* &c.] The Latin puts this more clearly—*etenim vigor juventutis excessus plurimos tegit, qui tamen in senectute tandem veluti debita exigentur.*

[c] *in nature and state*] Lat. *secretum naturale et politicum.*

change many things than one. Examine thy customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel, and the like; and try, in anything thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so as if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome from that which is good particularly and fit for thine own body. To be free minded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat and of sleep and of exercise is one of the best precepts of long lasting. As for the passions and studies of the mind, avoid envy, anxious fears, anger fretting inwards, subtile and knotty inquisitions, joys and exhilarations in excess, sadness not communicated. Entertain hopes, mirth rather than joy, variety of delights rather than surfeit of them; wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties; studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects; as histories, fables, and contemplations of nature. If you fly physic in health altogether it will be too strange for your body when you shall need it; if you make it too familiar it will work no extraordinary effect when sickness cometh. I commend rather some diet for certain seasons than frequent use of physic, except it be grown into a custom; for those diets alter the body more and trouble it less. Despise no new accident[d] in your body, but ask opinion of it. In sickness, respect health principally; and in health, action: for those that put their bodies to endure in health may, in most sicknesses which are not very sharp, be cured only with diet and tendering[e]. Celsus

[d] *accident*] Here used in the wide sense of anything which happens, any attendant fact. Conf. 'General laws are like general rules of physic, according whereunto . . . no wise man will desire himself to be cured, if there be joined with his disease some special accident.' Eccles. Pol. v. chap. 9. sec. 2. 'One may tell also the hour of his nativity, when by accidents they know what hath happened to him all his life.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 25.

[e] *with tendering*] i. e. by treating with more than ordinary care. Lat. *cor-*

could never have spoken it as a physician, had he not been a wise man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extreme: use fasting and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and sleep, but rather sleep; sitting and exercise, but rather exercise, and the like: so shall nature be cherished, and yet taught masteries[f]. Physicians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the humour of the patient as they press not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper; or, if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either sort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body as the best reputed of for his faculty[g].

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 227, l. 2. *a man's own observation* &c.] Conf. 'I remember upon a time I heard how Tiberius Cæsar was wont to say, That a man, being once above threescore years of age, deserveth to be mocked and derided if he put forth his hand unto the Physician for to have his pulse felt. For mine own part, I take this speech of his to be somewhat too proud and insolent; but methinks this should be true, That every man ought to know the particulars and properties of his own pulse . . . also that it behoveth no man to be ignorant in the several complexion of his own body as well in heat as in dryness: also to be skilful what things be good for him, and what be hurtful when he useth them: for he that would learn these particularities of any other than himself . . . surely hath no sense or feeling of him-

poris regimine paulo exquisitiore. Conf.

'In the devotion of a subject's love
Tendering the precious safety of my prince.'
Richard II, act i. sc. 1.

[f] *taught masteries*] Lat. *robur acquiret.* Fr. *et toutefois passera maitrise.* Conf. 'Use maketh masteries, saith our English proverbe, and practice and art do farre exceed nature.' Edmunds, Caesar's Comment., First Obs. on bk. i. cap. 16.

[g] *for his faculty*] Lat. *in arte sua.*

self, but is as it were deaf and blind; a stranger he is, dwelling in a borrowed body and none of his own.' Plutarch, Morals, p. 514.

l. 12. *safer to change* &c.] So Machiavelli advises that 'a new Prince in a city or Province taken by him, should make innovations in everything.' Discourses on Livy, bk. i. cap. 26.

P. 228, l. 11. *envy* &c.] These are referred to at length in the Historia Vitae et Mortis. Works, ii. pp. 171, 172.

l. 12. *subtile and knotty inquisitions* &c.] For this and for the next sentence, conf. 'In philosophiis autem magna est discrepantia, quoad longaevitatem, inter sectas. Etenim philosophiae quae nonnihil habent ex superstitione et contemplationibus sublimioribus, optimae; ut Pythagorica, Platonica: etiam quae mundi perambulationem, et rerum naturalium varietatem complectebantur, et cogitationes habebant discinctas et altas et magnanimas (de infinito, et de astris, et de virtutibus heroicis et hujusmodi) ad longaevitatem bonae; quales fuerint Democriti, Philolai, Xenophanis, Astrologorum, et Stoicorum . . . At contra, philosophiae in subtilitatum molestiis versantes et pronuntiativae, et singula ad principiorum trutinam examinantes et torquentes, denique spinosiores et angustiores, malae; quales fuerunt plerumque Peripateticorum et Scholasticorum.' Works, ii. 154.

l. 26. *in health, action.*] Conf. 'Primo, nos in hac sententia sumus, ut existimemus officia vitae esse vitâ ipsâ potiora,' &c. Works, ii. 159.

l. 29. *Celsus.*] The rules, which Bacon ascribes here to Celsus, he gives also in his Historia Vitae et Mortis, to the same effect as in the Essay (Works, ii. 153). They convey a wholly incorrect notion of what Celsus says. There is a verbal resemblance between the two, but they strike, so to say, two very different notes. Celsus is writing for the man in sound health. He tells him, in effect, to fly physic, and not to be troubling himself about his state of body or whether this or that agrees with him. Only, he is to take plenty of exercise, and not to suffer himself to become the slave of any one uniform mode of life. Bacon, with the instinct of a valetudinarian, twists this licence into a law, and so fits it to form a part of his Essay on the Regimen of Health. Celsus' words are: 'Sanus homo, qui et bene valet, et suae spontis est, nullis obligare se legibus debet; ac neque medico neque iatroalipta egere. Hunc oportet varium habere vitae genus: modo ruri esse, modo in urbe, saepiusque in agro: navigare, venari, quiescere interdum, sed frequenter se exercere. Siquidem ignavia corpus hebetat, labor firmat; illa maturam senectutem, hic longam adolescentiam reddit. Prodest autem interdum balneo, interdum aquis frigidis uti: modo ungi, modo id ipsum negligere: nullum cibi genus fugere quo populus utatur: interdum in convictu esse, interdum ab eo se retrahere: modo plus justo, modo non amplius assumere: bis die potius quam semel cibum

capere; et semper quam plurimum, dummodo hunc concoquat.' De Medicina, bk. i. cap. i.

It would be difficult to misrepresent the drift of this passage more completely than Bacon has succeeded in doing.

XXXI.

OF SUSPICION.

SUSPICIONS amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds, they ever fly by twilight: certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded[a]; for they cloud the mind, they lose friends, and they check with[b] business, whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly: they dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy: they are defects, not in the heart but in the brain; for they take place in the stoutest natures, as in the example of Henry[c] the seventh of England; there was not a more suspicious man nor a more stout: and in such a composition they do small hurt; for commonly they are not admitted but with examination whether they be likely or no? but in fearful natures they gain ground too fast. There is nothing makes a man suspect much, more than to know little; and therefore men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their suspicions in smother[d]. What would men

[a] *well guarded*] i. e. kept well under restraint. Lat. *caute custodiendae.*

[b] *check with*] i. e. interfere with. Conf. 'If it check once with business, it troubleth men's fortunes.' Essay 10.

[c] *example of Henry*] Conf. Essay 19. p. 135.

[d] *to keep their suspicions in smother*] i. e. to brood darkly over them. Conf. 'A man were better relate himself to a statua or picture than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.' Essay 27; and 'I have often seen it, that things when they are in smother trouble more than when they break out.' Letters and Life, v. 47. The Latin is a loose paraphrase, but it explains the sense, *fumo enim et tenebris aluntur suspiciones.*

have? Do they think those they employ and deal with are saints? Do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? Therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions than to account upon such suspicions as true and yet to bridle them as false: for so far a man ought to make use of suspicions as to provide, as if that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt. Suspicions that the mind of itself gathers are but buzzes; but suspicions that are artificially nourished and put into men's heads by the tales and whisperings of others have stings. Certainly, the best mean[e] to clear the way in this same wood of suspicions is frankly to communicate them with the party that he suspects; for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal shall make that party more circumspect not to give further cause of suspicion. But this would not be done[f] to men of base natures; for they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says, *sospetto licentia fede*; as if suspicion did give a passport to faith[g]; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself[h].

[e] *the best mean*] i. e. means. Conf. 'It is the solecism of power to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the mean.' Essay 19.

[f] *would not be done*] i. e. ought not to be done. Conf. 'In counsels concerning religion that counsel of the apostle would be prefixed.' Essay 3, and note on passage.

[g] *did give a passport to faith*] i. e. did give faith leave of departure, or, in other words, did give an excuse for bad faith. *Suspicio fidem absolvit.* Antitheta, Works, i. 705. Lat. *quasi suspicio fidei missionem daret.* Conf. 'An invasion of a few English upon Spain may have just hope of victory, or at least of passport to depart safely.' Letters and Life, vii. 491. And,

'He which hath no stomach to this fight
Let him depart: his passport shall be made.'
Henry V, act iv. sc. 3.

[h] *to discharge itself*] i. e. suspicion ought rather to kindle faith to free itself from the charge. The sense is that when a man of good faith knows himself to be suspected, he ought to be thereby incited so to act as to prove the suspicion to be groundless. For 'discharge,' conf. 'The people (into whom there is infused for the preservation of monarchies a natural desire to discharge their princes, though it be with the unjust charge of their counsellors and ministers) did impute this unto Cardinal Morton and Sir Richard Bray.' Works, vi. 240.

XXXII.

OF DISCOURSE.

Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, than of judgment, in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought[a]. Some have certain common-places and themes wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and when it is once perceived ridiculous. The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion; and again to moderate[b] and pass to somewhat else; for then a man leads the dance. It is good in discourse and speech of conversation, to vary and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments, tales with reasons, asking of questions with telling of opinions, and jest with earnest; for it is a dull thing to tire, and as we say now to jade anything too far. As for jest, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it; namely, religion, matters of state, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity; yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick; that is a vein which would be bridled[c];

Parce puer stimulis, et fortius utere loris.

And generally, men ought to find the difference between

[a] *what should be thought*] The Latin gives *quid taceri debeat*. But the words obviously correspond to the closing words of the clause just before. They mean therefore, what ought to be thought if the thought is to agree with the fact, i. e. 'what is true.' The French gives, *ce qui se peut dire, non pas ce qui se devroit penser*.

[b] *to moderate*] i. e. to act the part of a moderator; to sum up what has been said, and to pronounce judgment upon it. *Vide* Essay 25, note on 'moderator.'

[c] *a vein which would be bridled*] Lat. *habitus omnino coercendus*. 'Vein'=inclination or habit; *vid. infra*, 'a satirical vein'; and 'Adrian's vein was better, for his mind was to wrastle a fall with time.' Letters and Life, vii. 359.

would be] i. e. ought to be. So *passim*.

saltness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory. He that questioneth much shall learn much, and content much; but especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he asketh; for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge; but let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a poser[d]; and let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak: nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on, as musicians use to do with those that dance too long galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought another time to know that you know not. Speech of a man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, *He must needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of himself:* and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace, and that is in commending virtue in another, especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch[e] towards others should be sparingly

[d] *a poser*] Lat. *id examinatori convenit.* Conf. 'to the end that they may be apposed of' (i. e. questioned about, Lat. *ut interrogentur*) 'those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.' Essay 22.

[e] *Speech of touch*] The Latin, French, and Italian versions interpret these words in the same way. *Sermo alios pungens et vellicans*; *discours de reprehension*; *il pungere gli altri nel parlare.* But the caution against offensive personal remarks has already been given. The clause which immediately follows suggests a wider sense here, viz. speech that comes home to a man in any way; that refers to his person or to his affairs, not necessarily offensively. The Italian translator seems to have observed this, and instead of Bacon's 'for discourse ought,' &c., he puts accordingly, *e il discorso*, &c., thus introducing the clause as a new and independent remark. In the edition of 1612, the story of the two noblemen, and the warning which it conveys against flouts and scoffs, do not occur. This is a further argument for interpreting 'speech of touch' by the reason which immediately follows, and with no reference to matters which have been put in by an after-thought.

used; for discourse[f] ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two noblemen of the west part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house; the other would ask of those that had been at the other's table, *Tell truly, was there never a flout or dry*[g] *blow given?* To which the guest would answer, *Such and such a thing passed.* The lord would say *I thought he would mar a good dinner.* Discretion of speech is more than eloquence; and to speak agreeably[h] to him with whom we deal is more than to speak in good words, or in good order. A good continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, shows slowness; and a good reply or second speech, without a good settled speech, showeth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course are yet nimblest in the turn; as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances[i] ere one come to the matter is wearisome; to use none at all is blunt.

Notes and Illustrations.

Parts of this Essay are found in 'Short Notes for Civil Conversation,' a Treatise of uncertain date. Works, vii. 109, and preface.

P. 233, l. 6. *want variety*] Conf. Plutarch on Education of children: 'To be able to speak of one thing and no more, is first and foremost in my conceit no small signe of ignorance. Then, I suppose that the

[f] *for discourse* &c.] The Latin gives this more fully and clearly: *Etenim sermones familiares debent esse instar campi aperti, in quo spatiari licet; non viae regiae quae deducit domum.*

[g] *dry*] i. e. severe; scornful. Conf. 'King Ptolomaeus upon a time gesting and scoffing at a simple and unlearned grammarian, asked him who was the father of Peleus; I will answer you, sir (quoth he) if you tell me first who was the father of Lagus. This was a dry flout, and touched King Ptolomaeus very near, in regard of the mean parentage from whence he (the son of Lagus) was descended.' Plutarch, Morals, p. 103.

'For hard dry bastings us'd to prove
The readiest remedies of love.'
Hudibras, Pt. II. Canto i. 645.

[h] *agreeably*] i. e. agree-ably. Lat. *apte loqui et accommodate ad personam.*

[i] *circumstances*] i. e. introductory speech. Conf. 'I came hither to tell you; and, circumstances shortened, (for she hath been too long a talking of) the lady is disloyal.' Much Ado About Nothing, act iii. sc. 2.

exercise and practice thereof soon bringeth satiety. And againe, I hold it impossible evermore to continue in the same: For so to be ever in one song breedeth tediousnesse, and soon a man is weary of it; whereas variety is alwaies delectable both in this and also in all other objects as well of the eye as the eare.' Plut. Morals (ed. 1657), p. 7.

l. 21. *a vein that would be bridled*] Conf. 'Sed quomodo in omni vitâ rectissime praecipitur ut perturbationes fugiamus, id est motus animi nimios rationi non obtemperantes: sic ejusmodi motibus sermo debet vacare, ne aut ira existat aut cupiditas aliqua aut pigritia aut ignavia aut tale aliquid appareat: maximeque curandum est, ut eos quibuscum sermones conferemus, et vereri et diligere videamur.' Cicero, De Off. i. 38. And, 'In convictibus et quotidiano sermone ... laedere nunquam velimus, longeque absit propositum illud *Potius amicum quam dictum perdidi* (v. l. *perdendi*).' Quintilian, Instit. Orat. vi. 3. 28. This was a favourite caution with Sir Nicholas Bacon. He had a very quaint saying, and he used it often to good purpose, 'that he loved the jest well, but not the losse of his friend.' 'He would say ... I will never forgive that man that loseth himself to be rid of his jest.' Sir R. Naunton, Fragmenta Regalia.

l. 22. *Parce puer* &c.] Ovid, Metam. ii. 127.

P. 234, l. 9. *let him be sure to leave other men their turns* &c.] In this, as elsewhere in the Essay, Bacon seems to have had in his mind some passages in Cicero, De Officiis, i. 37 and 38: 'Sit igitur hic sermo, in quo Socratici maxime excellunt, lenis, minimèque pertinax: insit in eo lepos, nec vero, tanquam in possessionem suam venerit, excludat alios, sed cum reliquis in rebus, tum in sermone communi, vicissitudinem non iniquam putet ... Animadvertendum est etiam, quatenus sermo delectationem habeat, et ut incipiendi ratio fuerit, ita sit desinendi modus.'

Dr. Rawley notes Bacon's observance of his own rules: 'He was no dashing man (i. e. not one who used his wit to put his neighbours out of countenance) as some men are, but ever a countenancer and fosterer of another man's parts. Neither was he one that would appropriate the speech wholly to himself, or delight to outvie others, but leave a liberty to the co-assessors to take their turns. Wherein he would draw a man on and allure him to speak upon such a subject, as wherein he was peculiarly skilful and would delight to speak.' Works, i. p. 12 and note.

l. 14. *If you dissemble* &c.] So Bacon, elsewhere, giving instruction how to cover defects, says, *inter alia*, 'A man must frame some probable cause why he should not do his best and why he should dissemble his abilities: and for that purpose must use to dissemble those abilities which are notorious in him, to give colour that his true wants are but industries and dissimulations.' Works, iii. 464.

This trick he ascribes to Socrates, strangely mistaking the purpose and drift of the Socratic irony. 'In Socrates it (i. e. a profession of general ignorance and uncertainty) was supposed to be but a form of irony. Scientiam dissimulando simulavit; for he used to disable his knowledge to the end to enhance his knowledge.' Works, iii. 388.

l. 16. *Speech of a man's self* &c.] 'Deforme etiam est, de se ipso praedicare, falsa praesertim, et cum irrisione audientium, imitari militem gloriosum.' De Off. i. 38.

l. 21. *commending virtue in another*] Conf. Essay 54, *sub finem.*

P. 235, l. 15. *As we see in beasts*] Conf. 'Though the difference be good which was made between orators and sophisters, that the one is as the greyhound which hath his advantage in the race, and the other as the hare which hath her advantage in the turn, so as it is the advantage of the weaker creature.' Works, iii. 394.

XXXIII.

OF PLANTATIONS.

PLANTATIONS are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works. When the world was young, it begat more children; but now it is old, it begets fewer: for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I like a plantation in a pure soil; that is, where people are not displanted, to the end to plant in others; for else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods; for you must make account to lose almost twenty years' profit, and expect your recompense in the end: for the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected as far as may stand with the good of the plantation, but no further. It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men to be the people with whom you plant; and not only

so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers. In a country of plantation, first look about what kind of victual the country yields of itself to hand: as chestnuts, walnuts, pine-apples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like; and make use of them. Then consider what victual or esculent things there are which grow speedily and within the year; as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radish, artichokes of Hierusalem, maize, and the like: for wheat, barley, and oats, they ask too much labour; but with pease and beans you may begin, both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat as well as for bread; and of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of biscuit, oatmeal, flour, meal, and the like in the beginning till bread may be had. For beasts or birds take chiefly such as are least subject to diseases and multiply fastest; as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves, and the like. The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged town; that is, with certain allowance: and let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn, be to a common stock; and to be laid in and stored up and then delivered out in proportion; besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure[a] for his own private[b].

[a] *manure*] i. e. cultivate. Lat. *in quibus industria singulorum se exerceat.* Conf. 'Theophrastus saith also, it was Pysistratus and not Solon, that made the law for idlenesse, which was the onely cause that the country of Attica became more fruitfull, being better manured.' Plut. Lives, p. 99.

[b] *his own private*] For this substantival use of the word, conf. 'Nor

Consider likewise what commodities the soil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation: so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business, as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much; and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ore, and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity[c] where wood aboundeth. Making of bay-salt, if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience[d]: growing silk[e] likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity: pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not fail; so drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit: soap-ashes likewise, and other things that may be thought of; but moil not too much under ground, for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other things. For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some council; and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation; and above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always and his service before their eyes: let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number; and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen than merchants; for they look ever to the present gain. Let there be freedoms from custom till the plantation be of strength; and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution. Cram not in people by sending

must I be unmindful of my private.' Ben Jonson, Catiline, act iii. sc. 5.

[c] *is a brave commodity*] Lat. *e mercibus quaestuosis est.*

[d] *would be put in experience*] i. e. ought to be tried. Lat. *digna res est quae tentetur.*

[e] *growing silk*] i. e. vegetable silk. Lat. *sericum vegetabile; vide* note at end of Essay.

too fast company after company; but rather hearken[f] how they waste, and send supplies proportionably; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of some plantations that they have built along the sea and rivers, in marish[g] and unwholesome grounds: therefore, though you begin there, to avoid carriage and other like discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the streams than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation that they have good store of salt with them, that they may use it in their victuals when it shall be necessary. If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss; and send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men; that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake or destitute[h] a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.

[f] *hearken*] i. e. watch. Lat. *informationi diligenti intende.* Conf.

'They did me too much injury
That ever said I hearken'd for your death.'
Henry IV, part i. act 5. sc. 4.

[g] *marish*] i. e. marshy. Lat. *in locis paludinosis.* Conf. 'They banished him into the marish countries by the sea-side.' Raleigh, Hist. of World, bk. ii. chap. 27. sec. 2. 'Amyrtaeus who held the marish and woody parts of Egypt.' Bk. iii. chap. 7. sec. 6.

[h] *to destitute*] i. e. to leave destitute. Lat. *destituere.* Conf. 'He was willing to part with his place, upon hope not to be destituted, but to be preferred to one of the Baron's places in Ireland.' Letters and Life, vi. 207.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 237, l. 1. *Plantations*] i.e. colonies, as the context shows throughout. Lat. *coloniae.* In Elizabeth's reign the era of English colonization began. With the discovery of the Western Hemisphere, a vast unoccupied field was thrown open for settlement; and, with this scope allowed, it became evident that the world, now that it was old, could beget children no less abundantly than in its youth. The first attempts were unsuccessful. In 1578, Sir Humfrey Gilbert went out with a party of intending settlers, under letters patent from the queen, but he made no stay. Then a fresh start was made chiefly at Sir Walter Raleigh's charges, but with no permanent result. Settlements were effected, first at Roanoak, off the coast of Virginia, then on the main-land. Some of the colonists came home discouraged and disappointed: some were killed by the natives whom they had ill-treated and outraged; the rest were lost and never heard of again. Hakluyt, iii. 301 et seqq., tells the whole miserable story, from the first hopeful settlement in 1585, down to the final ineffective search in 1590 for the remnants of the last colony, planted in 1587. Captain John White, who was in command of the mismanaged search-party, and who came back after committing the relief of the colonists 'to the merciful help of the Almighty and so leaving them,' writes (in 1622), 'and thus we left seeking our colony, that was never any of them found nor seen to this day, and this was the conclusion of this plantation.' Pinkerton, Voyages, vol. xiii. p. 19.

In the next century the attempt was renewed with better success; and, by the date of Bacon's Essay, colonies had been planted and had taken root both in Virginia and in New England.

l. 2. *When the world was young*] This may have been suggested by a passage in Lucretius:—

> 'maternum nomen adepta
> Terra tenet merito, quoniam genus ipsa creavit
> Humanum, atque animal prope certo tempore fudit
> Omne . . . . . ,
> Sed quia finem aliquam pariendi debet habere
> Destitit, ut mulier spatio defessa vetusto.'
>
> Bk. v. 818 *et seqq.*

l. 5. *in a pure soil.*] This was insisted on in Elizabeth's Letters Patent to Raleigh: 'We do give and grant to Walter Ralegh Esquire and to his heirs and assigns for ever, free liberty to search, find out, and view such remote heathen and barbarous lands, not actually possessed of any Christian Prince nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him &c. shall seem good: and the same to have hold occupy and enjoy, &c. (March 25, 1584).' Hakluyt, iii. 298.

We find the same exception in the earlier Letters Patent to Sir Humfrey Gilbert (1578); iii. p. 174.

That this exception was enough to satisfy Bacon's rule about planting in a pure soil appears, partly from the words at the end of the Essay, where he speaks of the proper treatment of savages; partly from the 'Advice to Villiers,' where the place chosen for a plantation is directed to be 'such as hath not been already planted by the subjects of any other Christian prince or state.' 'The colonists,' he presently adds, 'must make themselves defensible both against the natives and against strangers.' Letters and Life, vi. 50, 51.

l. 12. *base and hasty drawing of profit*] This does not appear in the histories of the early plantations. The constant complaint is that, although large sums had been spent in fitting them out and providing for them, there was no return of profit from them. Their destruction was partly due to their improvidence in the use of their stores, but chiefly to their reckless behaviour towards the natives—at once unjust and ungracious and wanting in sufficient guard. There was the wish in some quarters to make a profit from the plantations hastily, if not basely. Captain Carlile, in his most interesting discourse upon the intended voyage to America, written in 1583, addresses himself especially to satisfy such merchants, 'as in disbursing their money towards the furniture of the present charge, doe demand forthwith a present returne of gaine' (Hakluyt, iii. 228), but I find no record of any return of gain, early or late.

l. 15. *shameful and unblessed thing*] This was frequently done, sometimes at the request of the English adventurers, in order to cheapen labour in the colonies, sometimes because the colonies were a convenient outlet for the criminals and ne'er-do-wells of the mother country. Conf. 'Since I came from thence (i. e. from Virginia) the honourable company hath been humble suitors to His Majesty to get vagabonds and condemned men to go thither; nay, so the business hath been so abused that so scorned was the name of Virginia, some did chuse to be hanged ere they would go thither, and were.' Pinkerton's Voyages, xiii. 240. And, 'That there be some prudent course taken to maintain a garrison to suppress the savages . . . for this cannot be done by promises, hopes, counsels and countenances, but with sufficient workmen and means to maintain them, nor such delinquents as here cannot be ruled by all the laws in England: yet when the foundation is laid and a commonwealth established then such may better be constrained to labour than here: but to rectify a commonwealth with debauched persons is impossible, and no wise man would throw himself into such a society that intends honestly and knows what he undertakes.' p. 169.

We find like complaints in the course of the settlement of the Bermudas. Of the three first settlers, two were criminals 'that for

their offences or the suspicion they had of their judgment, fled into the woods, and there rather desired to end their days than stand to their trials and the event of justice.' Ten years later, in 1620, when the plantation had been regularly established, 'the company sent a supply of ten persons for the generality, but of such bad condition that it seemed they had picked the males out of Newgate, the females from Bridewell.' General history of the Bermudas, Pinkerton, Voyages and Travels, vol. xiii. pp. 177, 198 (ed. 1812).

One of the ship's companies, which went with Sir Humfrey Gilbert in his intended settlement of Newfoundland in 1583, is thus described: 'The captain, albeit himselfe was very honest and religious, yet was he not appointed of men to his humor and desert: who for the most part were such as had bene by us surprised upon the narrow seas of England, being pirats, and had taken at that instant certaine Frenchmen laden, one barke with wines and another with salt. Both which we rescued.' Hakluyt, iii. 191.

P. 238, l. 25. *house-doves, and the like*] After these words the Latin has, *Praecipue autem piscationibus incumbendum, tum ad sustentationem coloniae, tum ad lucrum exportationis.*

l. 27. *and let the main part of the ground*] Conf. 'At New Plymouth .... the most of them live together as one family or household, yet every man followeth his trade and profession both by sea and land, and all for a general stock, out of which they have all their maintenance until there be a dividend betwixt the planters and the adventurers. Those planters are not servants to the adventurers here, but have only councils of directions from them, but no injunctions or command, and all the masters of families are partners in land or whatsoever, setting their labours against the stock, till certain years be expired for the division . . . The adventurers which raised the stock to begin and supply this plantation were about seventy, some gentlemen, some merchants, some handicraftsmen . . . These dwell mostly about London: they are not a corporation, but knit together by a voluntary combination in a society without constraint or penalty, aiming to do good and to plant religion.' Smith's New England, Pinkerton's Voyages, xiii. 252.

P. 239, l. 5. *as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia*] If we follow the punctuation of the English text of 1625 (putting a colon after 'charge of the plantation:') this must mean that the cultivation of tobacco in Virginia has been 'to the untimely prejudice of the main business.' The Latin, in which the order of the clauses is not the same as in the English, suggests a different sense, viz. that the cultivation of tobacco has in some way helped to defray the charge of the plantation: *Ut exportatio eorum in loca ubi maxime in pretio sunt sumptus levet; ut usuvenit in nicotiano apud Virginiam: modo non sit, ut jam dictum, in praejudicium intempestivum coloniae ipsius.* Mr. Spedding interprets it in this way,

and encloses in brackets—('so as it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business'). But even so, the words 'as was said,' inexactly rendered by *ut jam dictum*, seem to endorse a charge that the attention given to the cultivation of tobacco in Virginia had been to the prejudice of the main business of the colony.

It is certain that tobacco was grown in Virginia very soon and very largely: that it was found to be the most profitable crop: and that complaints were made about the almost exclusive attention paid to it.

'The great produce of this country is tobacco, and that of Virginia is looked upon as the best in the world . . . Yet tobacco is very far from being the only thing of value which this country produces: on the contrary, they have flax, hemp, and cotton; and silk they might have if they were not so extremely addicted to their staple commodity as never to think of anything else if tobacco can be brought to a tolerable market.' Discoveries and Settlements of the English in America, Pinkerton, Voyages, vol. xii. p. 242.

'The trade of this colony (Virginia) as well as that of Maryland, consists almost entirely of tobacco; for though the country would produce several excellent commodities fit for trade, yet the planters are so wholly bent on planting tobacco, that they seem to have laid aside all thoughts of other improvements. This trade is brought to such perfection that the Virginia tobacco, especially the sweet-scented which grows on York-river, is reckoned the best in the world, and is what is generally vended in England for a home consumption.' p. 245.

'We find' (says John Rolfe, one of the settlers), 'by them of best experience, an industrious man not other ways employed, may well tend four acres of corn, and one thousand plants of tobacco; and where they say an acre will yield but three or four barrels we have ordinarily four or five, but of new ground six, seven and eight . . . . so that one man may provide corn for five and apparel for two by the profit of his tobacco.' Pinkerton, Voyages and Travels, xiii. p. 126.

That this was thought mischievous appears from the evidence given by John Smith, one of the early governors of the colony, to His Majesty's Commissioners for the reformation of Virginia. 'What conceive you,' he is asked, 'should be the cause, though the country be good, there comes nothing but tobacco?'

His answer is, 'The oft altering of governors, it seems, causes every man to make use of his time: and because corn was stinted at two shillings and six-pence the bushel, and tobacco at three shillings the pound, and they value a man's labour a year worth fifty or three score pounds, but in corn not worth ten pounds, presuming tobacco will furnish them with all things; now make a man's labour in corn worth three score pounds, and in tobacco but ten pounds a man, then shall they have corn sufficient to entertain all comers and keep their people in health to do anything: but till then there will be little

or nothing to any purpose.' Pinkerton, Voyages and Travels, vol. xiii. p. 167.

It does not appear that this impossible remedy for an imaginary evil was ever tried.

l. 8. *iron is a brave commodity*] This and much else of the Essay seem to have been suggested by passages in a brief and true report of the 'new found land of Virginia' by Thomas Heriot (1587). Conf. 'In two places specially the ground was found to hold iron richly. It is found in many places of the country else: I know nothing to the contrary but that it may be allowed for a good merchantable commodity, considering there the small charge for the labour and feeding of men, the infinite store of wood,' &c. Hakluyt, iii. 327.

l. 10. *growing silk*] Conf. 'Silke of grasse or Grasse silke. There is a kind of grasse in the country, upon the blades whereof there groweth very good silke in form of a thin glittering skin to be stript off. It groweth two foot and a halfe high or better: the blades are about two foot in length and half an inch broad. The like groweth in Persia which is in the self same climate as Virginia, of which very many of the Silke works that come thence into Europe are made. There is great store thereof in many parts of the countrey growing naturally and wild, which also by proof here in England, in making a piece of Silke or grogran, we found to be excellent good.' Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 324.

l. 16. *the hope of mines* &c.] This seems to refer especially to gold mines, in quest of which some of the early colonists spent much labour with no result, and to the neglect of necessary work. Bacon has just before spoken approvingly of iron as a brave commodity. Conf. 'The worst was our gilded refiners with their golden promises made all men their slaves in hope of recompenses: there was no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold, such a bruit of gold that one mad fellow desired to be buried in the sands lest they should by their art make gold of his bones. . . . Never anything did more torment him (Captain Smith) than to see all necessary business neglected, to fraught such a drunken ship with so much gilded dirt.' Quoted in Smith's Virginia, Pinkerton's Voyages, xiii. p. 58.

It seems questionable whether the metal found was gold after all. It is presently spoken of as 'phantastical gold,' and the only further notice of it is that the search for it caused the settlers 'to lose time, spend that victuals we had, tire and starve our men.'

l. 17. *For government* &c.] The neglect of this and of the rules given below proved very mischievous. In reply to a question from the Commissioners for the Reformation of Virginia, 'What think you of the defects of government both here and there?' ex-governor Smith says, 'The multiplicity of opinions here, and officers there, makes such delay by question and formality that as much time is spent in

compliment as in action.' 'Those new devices,' he adds, 'have consumed both money and purse, for at first there were but six patentees, now more than a thousand; then but thirteen counsellors, now not less than an hundred.' Pinkerton's Voyages, xiii. pp. 167, 168.

l. 27. *freedoms from custom*] Ex-governor Smith, in his evidence before the Commissioners for the Reformation of Virginia, insists on the need of this. 'That His Majesty would be pleased to remit his custom, or it is to be feared they will lose custom and all.' Pinkerton's Voyages, xiii. 169. And, 'I think if His Maiesty were truly informed of their necessity and the benefit of this project, he would be pleased to give the custom of Virginia . . . to maintain this garrison. . . . Otherwise it is much to be doubted there will neither come custom nor any thing from thence to England within these few years.' xiii. p. 153.

l. 29. *freedom to carry their commodities* &c.] The enjoyment of a trading monopoly was commonly one of the inducements held out to the companies or private adventurers by whom the first charges of the colony were advanced. It is granted in full terms in Sir Walter Raleigh's letters patent. Hakluyt, iii. 299. In a 'Discourse upon the intended voyage to America, written by Captain Carlile in 1583,' merchandising is said to be the matter especially looked for by the adventurers, and Carlile engages accordingly that all trade to and from the colony shall appertain only to them. Hakluyt, iii. 230, 235. But, in point of fact, the freedom on which Bacon insists appears to have been generally allowed. We find its denial treated as a grievous wrong. When the English company of adventurers laid the colonists at the Bermudas under an 'express command that they should entertain no other ships, than were directly sent from the company; this caused much grudging and indeed a general distraction and exclamation among the inhabitants, to be thus constrained to buy what they wanted and sell what they had at what price the magazine pleased.' General history of the Bermudas, Pinkerton, Voyages and Travels, vol. xiii. p. 198.

The Navigation Act of 1650 was the first regular blow dealt at Colonial freedom of trading.

XXXIV.

OF RICHES.

I CANNOT call riches better than the baggage of virtue; the Roman word is better, *impedimenta;* for as the baggage is to an army, so is riches to virtue; it cannot be

spared nor left behind, but it hindereth the march; yea and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory. Of great riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution; the rest is but conceit[a]; so saith Salomon, *Where much is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes?* The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches: there is a custody of them; or a power of dole and donative of them; or a fame of them; but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned prices are set upon little stones and rarities? and what works of ostentation are undertaken, because[b] there might seem to be some use of great riches? But then you will say they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles; as Salomon saith, *Riches are as a stronghold in the imagination of the rich man;* but this is excellently expressed, that it is in imagination and not always in fact: for certainly great riches have sold more men than they have bought out. Seek not proud riches[c], but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly; yet have no abstract nor friarly[d] contempt of them; but distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus, *In studio rei amplificandae, apparebat non avaritiae praedam, sed instrumentum bonitati quaeri.* Hearken also to Salomon, and beware of hasty gathering of riches: *Qui festinat ad divitias non erit insons.* The poets feign that when Plutus (which is riches) is sent from Jupiter, he limps and goes slowly; but when he is sent from Pluto,

[a] *but conceit*] i. e. imagination. Lat. *caetera in imaginatione versantur.* Conf. Pliny, N. H. book ii. cap. 65 (Holland's version), 'But surely, in my conceit, this was but an uncerteine guess of his.' In the quotation below, from Proverbs xviii. 11, where Bacon writes 'imagination,' the authorized version gives 'conceit.'

[b] *because*] i. e. in order that. Lat. *ut.* Conf. Essay 8, 'there are some foolish rich covetous men, that take a pride in having no children, because they may be thought so much the richer.' Lat. *ut habeantur tanto ditiores.*

[c] *proud riches*] Lat. *divitias magnas.*

[d] *abstract nor friarly*] Lat. *instar monachi alicujus aut a seculo abstracti.*

he runs and is swift of foot; meaning that riches gotten by good means and just labour pace slowly; but when they come by the death of others (as by the course of inheritance, testaments, and the like), they come tumbling upon a man: but it might be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the devil: for when riches come from the devil (as by fraud and oppression and unjust means) they come upon speed. The ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul: parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not innocent; for it withholdeth men from works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground is the most natural obtaining of riches; for it is our great mother's blessing, the earth's; but it is slow; and yet, where men of great wealth do stoop to husbandry[e], it multiplieth riches exceedingly. I knew a nobleman in England that had the greatest audits of any man in my time; a great grazier, a great sheep-master, a great timber-man, a great collier, a great corn-master, a great lead-man, and so of iron, and a number of the like points of husbandry; so as the earth seemed a sea to him in respect of the perpetual importation. It was truly observed by one, that himself came very hardly to a little riches, and very easily to great riches; for when a man's stock is come to that that he can expect[f] the prime of markets, and overcome[g] those bargains, which for their greatness are few men's money, and be partner in the industries of younger men, he cannot but increase mainly. The gains of ordinary trades and vocations are honest, and furthered by two things chiefly: by diligence, and by

[e] *husbandry*] Lat. *agri culturam et lucra rustica.* The points of 'husbandry' enumerated just below show how wide a meaning Bacon gives to the word.

[f] *expect*] i. e. wait for. Conf. 'Whereas by the common law the King's suit, in case of homicide, did expect the year and the day allowed to the party's suit by way of appeal.' Works vi. 87. Also, 'It is not for nothing that I have deferred my essay De Amicitiâ, whereby it hath expected the proof of your great friendship towards me.' Letters and Life, vii. 344.

[g] *overcome*] i. e. become master of, be able to deal in. Lat. *superare.*

a good name for good and fair dealing; but the gains of bargains are of a more doubtful nature, when men shall wait upon others' necessity: broke[h] by servants and instruments to draw them on; put off others cunningly that would be better chapmen, and the like practices[i], which are crafty and naught[k]. As for the chopping of bargains, when a man buys not to hold but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the seller and upon the buyer. Sharings[l] do greatly enrich, if the hands be well chosen that are trusted. Usury is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst; as that whereby a man doth eat his bread, *in sudore vultûs alieni;* and besides, doth plough upon Sundays: but yet certain though it be, it hath flaws; for that the scriveners and brokers[m] do value[n] unsound men to serve their own turn. The fortune in being the first in an invention or in a privilege doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in riches, as it was with the first sugar-

[h] *broke*] i. e. negociate. The Latin gives the sense of the passage more clearly, *cum quis . . . servos et ministros alienos in damnum dominorum corrumpat*, but, perhaps, too narrowly, since it implies that the bargainer uses as his go-betweens the servants of other people and not his own.

[i] *practices*] Lat. *fraudes*,—the usual sense of the word with Bacon.

[k] *naught*] i. e. rascally. Lat. *quae omnes merito damnandae sunt.* Conf. 'I say these are engines and devices naught, malign, and seditious.' Letters and Life, v. 47.

[l] *Sharings*] Lat. *societates.*

[m] *scriveners and brokers*] i. e. intermediaries between the lender and the borrower. Conf. 21 James I, cap. 17, which enacts 'that scriveners brokers solicitors and drivers of bargains who shall take or receive more than at the rate of five shillings for brokage soliciting driving or procuring a loan of one hundred pounds for a year shall be liable to be fined and imprisoned.'

[n] *do value*] i. e. do put a high value on or recommend. Lat. *extollent.* They 'serve their own turn' of course by knavishly helping forward a loan which will bring them their commission when it is concluded, whether the borrower prove sound or unsound. Conf. 'Broker (*brocarius*) seemeth to come from the French (*broieur.* i. *tritor*) that is, a gryneder or breaker into small peeces. Because he that is of that trade, to deall in maters of mony and marchandise betweene Englishe men and strangers, doth draw the bargaine to particulars, and the parties to conclusion, not forgetting to grinde out something to his owne profit . . . It may not improbably be said that this word commeth from (*bracarder.* i. *cavillari*) because these kinde of men by their deceitfull speeches and abusing their true trade, many times invegle others.' Cowell, Interpreter, *sub voce.*

man in the Canaries: therefore, if a man can play the true logician, to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters, especially if the times be fit: he that resteth upon gains certain, shall hardly grow to great riches; and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes break and come to poverty: it is good therefore to guard adventures with certainties that may uphold losses[o]. Monopolies and coemption of wares for resale, where they are not restrained[p], are great means to enrich; especially if the party have intelligence what things are like to come into request, and so store himself beforehand. Riches gotten by service[q], though it be of the best rise, yet when they are gotten by flattery, feeding humours, and other servile conditions, they may be placed amongst the worst. As for fishing for testaments and executorships (as Tacitus saith of Seneca, *Testamenta et orbos tanquam indagine capi*), it is yet worse, by how much[r] men submit themselves to meaner persons than in service. Believe not much them that seem to despise riches, for

[o] *uphold losses*] i. e. make up for. Lat. *ut damnis subveniatur.*

[p] *not restrained*] Lat. *ubi nullâ lege prohibentur.* On the laws forbidding the 'coemption of wares for resale' *vide* note on engrossing, Essay 15.

[q] *Riches gotten by service* &c.] This is a perplexing sentence. It starts with a *nominativus pendens*,—'riches gotten by service,'—and proceeds, 'though it (i. e. the riches so gotten—Bacon at the beginning of the Essay uses riches as a singular noun) 'be of the best rise' (i. e. come from the best source), 'yet when they' (here we pass at once from the singular to the plural) 'are gotten by flattery,' &c., they may be placed amongst the worst'—the worst what? the words stand in antithesis to 'the best' just before, but the sense cannot possibly be that the riches so gotten are to be placed amongst the worst rises. The meaning which underlies the words seems to be:—Though riches gotten by service be of the best rise, yet when riches are gotten by flattery, &c. they may be placed amongst the worst in origin or amongst the worst gotten forms of riches. The Latin is, *Opum acquisitio per servitium regum aut magnatum dignitatem quandam habet; tamen si assentationibus et servilibus artificiis, sese ad omnes nutus flectendo, parentur, inter vias vilissimas poterit numerari.* 'Via' seems to be understood here as the nominative to 'poterit,' but the entire passage is not a translation, but a loose paraphrase—necessarily, since the English text is untranslatable.

[r] *by how much*] i. e. inasmuch as or by the degree in which. Lat. *adhuc pejor est haec res quanto*, &c. The phrase occurs in several places elsewhere. Conf. e. g. 'By how much the more men ought to beware of this passion.' Essay 10.

they despise them that despair of them; and none worse when they come to them. Be not penny-wise; riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their riches either to their kindred, or to the public; and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great state[s] left to an heir is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better[t] stablished in years and judgment: likewise, glorious gifts and foundations are like sacrifices without salt; and but the painted sepulchres of alms, which soon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly: therefore measure not thine advancements[u] by quantity, but frame them by measure: and defer not charities till death; for certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 247, l. 4. *so saith Salomon*] Eccles. v. 11.

l. 14. *as Salomon saith*] Prov. xviii. 11.

l. 17. *great riches have sold* &c.] Conf.:

'Sed plures nimia congesta pecunia cura
Strangulat,' &c. Juvenal, x. 12–18.

l. 22. *as Cicero saith* &c.] Not of Rabirius Postumus, but of his father. 'Fuit enim, pueris nobis, hujus pater, C. Curius . . . cujus in negotiis gerendis magnitudinem animi non tantum homines probassent nisi in eodem benignitas incredibilis fuisset, ut in augenda re

[s] *a great state*] i. e. a great fortune. Lat. *divitiae magnae*. Conf.

'I'll give her five hundred pound more to her marriage
Than her own state.'
Ben Jonson, Alchemist, v. 5.

[t] *if he be not the better*] i. e. if he be not thoroughly well. For this use of the comparative, conf. Essay 47, 'or else that he be counted the honester man,' and note on passage.

[u] *thine advancements*] Lat. *dona tua*. Conf. 'The jointure and advancement assured by the king of Scotland was two thousand pounds a year.' Works, vi. 216. And, 'I conceive by this advancement, which first and last I have left her, besides her own inheritance, I have made her of competent abilities to maintain the estate of a viscountess.' Letters and Life, vii. 541. 'Women who, having been advanced by their husbands.' (Lat. *ad terras promotae*), Works, vi. 161.

non avaritiae praedam, sed instrumentum bonitati quaerere videretur.' Pro C. Rabirio Postumo, cap. 2.

l. 25. *Salomon*] Prov. xxviii. 20. Quoted also in Advancement of Learning, Works, iii. 276.

l. 26. *The poets feign* &c.] The reference seems to be to Lucian's Timon, § 20 :—

ΕΡΜ. *Προΐωμεν, ὦ Πλοῦτε. τί τοῦτο; ὑποσκάζεις; ἐλελήθεις με, ὦ γεννάδα, οὐ τυφλὸς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ χωλὸς ὤν.*

ΠΛΟΥΤ. *Οὐκ ἀεὶ τοῦτο, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, ἀλλ' ὁπόταν μὲν ἀπίω παρά τινα πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως βραδύς εἰμι καὶ χωλὸς ἀμφοτέροις, ὡς μόλις τελεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα κ.τ.λ.*

ΕΡΜ. *Οὐκ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα φῄς· ἐγώ γέ τοι πολλοὺς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμί σοι χθὲς μὲν οὐδὲ ὀβολόν, ὥστε πρίασθαι βρόχον, ἐσχηκότας, ἄφνω δὲ τήμερον πλουσίους καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἐπὶ λευκοῦ ζεύγους ἐξελαύνοντας, οἷς οὐδὲ κἂν ὄνος ὑπῆρξε πώποτε κ.τ.λ.*

ΠΛΟΥΤ. *Ἕτεροῖον τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, καὶ οὐχὶ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ ποσὶ βαδίζω τότε, οὐδὲ ὁ Ζεύς, ἀλλ' ὁ Πλούτων ἀποστέλλει με παρ' αὐτοὺς ἅτε πλουτοδότης καὶ μεγαλόδωρος καὶ αὐτὸς ὤν· κ.τ.λ.*

The words which follow explain at length that it is of 'the course of inheritance, testaments and the like' that Plutus is here speaking.

P. 248, l. 10. *not innocent; for* &c.] Conf. Essay 28, of Expense: 'Riches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions.'

l. 21. *It was truly observed* &c.] 'Lampon, the rich merchant and shipmaster, being demanded how he got his goods: "Mary (quoth he) my greatest wealth I gained soone and with ease, but my smaller estate with exceeding much paine and slowly."' Plutarch's Morals, 'That aged men ought to govern the common-wealth.' Holland's Translation, p. 319.

P. 249, l. 6. *chopping of bargains*] Conf. note on engrossing, Essay 15.

l. 10. *Usury*] For Bacon's views on Usury, conf. Essay 41, and notes. It will be observed that in this passage Bacon endorses several of the 'witty invectives' which he quotes without endorsement in the Essay on Usury.

P. 250, l. 1. *the true logician*] 'Dialecticae partes duae sunt, Inventio et Judicium.' P. Ramus, Dialectica, lib. i. cap. 2. Bacon adopts this division and adds to it: 'Artes Logicae quatuor numero sunt: divisae ex finibus suis in quos tendunt. Id enim agit homo in Rationalibus, aut ut inveniat quod quaesiverit: aut judicet quod invenerit; ut retineat quod judicaverit; aut tradat quod retinuerit. Necesse igitur est ut totidem sint Artes Rationales: Ars inquisitionis seu inventionis; Ars examinis seu judicii; Ars custodiae seu memoriae, et Ars elocutionis seu traditionis.' Works, i. p. 616.

l. 15. *fishing for testaments*] Conf. in Bacon's memoranda: 'Applieng my self to be inward wth my Ld. Dorsett, per Champners ad utilit. testam.' Letters and Life, iv. 77.

l. 16. *as Tacitus saith* &c.] Tacitus does not say this of Seneca.

He reports it as having been said by Publius Suillius and by others. *Vide* Annals, xiii. 42.

P. 251, l. 10. *like sacrifices without salt* &c.] Conf. Bacon's 'Advice to the King touching Sutton's Estate,' with special reference to his foundation of the Charterhouse: 'I find it a positive precept of the old law, that there should be no sacrifice without salt . . . This cometh into my mind upon this act of M^r. Sutton, which seemeth to me as a sacrifice without salt, having the materials of a good intention, but not powdered with any such ordinances and institutions as may preserve the same from turning corrupt, or at the least from becoming unsavoury and of little use.' Letters and Life, iv. 249.

The passage in the Essay seems to be introduced by Bacon as a defensive reference to his own attempt to get Sutton's will set aside, and the whole property placed at the disposal of the King. The main facts of the case are given in Letters and Life, iv. 247, *et seqq.* Sutton died on Dec. 12, 1611. He had been long preparing to give effect to a plan for bestowing the bulk of his great fortune on some great public charity. Bacon had been aware of this some years before Sutton's death, and had been busying himself about it. We find in his private memoranda (1608), 'M^d. to goe to my L. of Canterbury and interteyn him in good conceyt touching Sutt. will, and ye like to S^r. J^h. Bennett.' Letters and Life, iv. 53. Sutton left, at his death, *inter alia*, '£8000 lands a year to his college or hospital at the Charterhouse (which is not bestowed on the Prince, as was given out). There is a school likewise for eight score scholars, with £120 stipend for the school-master and other provision for ushers.' This will, of which we learn further details in a letter from Chamberlain to Carleton, Dec. 18, 1611, was disputed by 'a certain tanner, pretending to be his heir at common law. He was called to the Council table on Sunday, and there bound in £100,000 (if he do evict the will) to stand to the King's award and arbitrement.'

Bacon was one of the law officers appointed by the Privy Council to hear and report on the case. His 'Letter of Advice to the King touching Sutton's Estate' gives his views about it. They are what we might expect from him in a cause in which the Court had so close an interest. He declares against the policy of the will; he is careful to remind the King that the Charterhouse is 'a building fit for a Prince's habitation;' and he suggests various other uses to which the several bequests might be put, if the claim of the pretended heir-at-law were upheld, and the whole matter thus submitted to the King, 'whereby it is both in your power and grace what to do.' He advises no illegal interference, nothing that is not grounded upon a right, but he gives plenty of reasons why it would be to the advantage of the public, as it certainly would have been to the advantage of the

King and Prince, that the will should not stand: and all this while the whole case was still *sub judice*.

It appears, from letters which Mr. Spedding does not quote, that public opinion ran strongly in favour of Sutton's will, and that the Court was believed to side strongly with the tanner. The will was finally upheld.

'The case of Sutton's Hospital . . . is come almost to the upshot. . . . The four puisne judges began and went all clearly for it, which, I assure you, hath much revived the world.' Chamberlain to Carleton, June 10, 1613.

'Yelverton is in speech to be solicitor . . . And some say his pleading against the hospital is not the least cause of his preferment.' Chamberlain to Carleton, Oct. 14, 1613.

Yelverton got the place, and Bacon, who had been also engaged as counsel against the will, was raised to be Attorney-General. He had well earned his promotion, by this and by his other services.

XXXV.

OF PROPHECIES.

I MEAN not to speak of divine prophecies, nor of heathen oracles, nor of natural predictions[a]; but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa to Saul, *To-morrow thou and thy son shall be with me.* Homer hath these verses:—

> *At domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris,*
> *Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.*

A prophecy as it seems of the Roman empire. Seneca the tragedian hath these verses:—

> ——— *Venient annis*
> *Saecula seris, quibus Oceanus*
> *Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens*
> *Pateat Tellus, Typhisque novos*
> *Detegat orbes, nec sit terris*
> *Ultima Thule:*

[a] *natural predictions*] i. e. forecasts from known data; opposed to 'prophecies from hidden causes.'

a prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter of Polycrates dreamed that Jupiter bathed her father, and Apollo anointed him; and it came to pass that he was crucified in an open place, where the sun made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's belly; whereby he did expound it that his wife should be barren; but Aristander the soothsayer told him his wife was with child, because men do not use to seal vessels that are empty. A phantasm that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent said to him, *Philippis iterum me videbis.* Tiberius said to Galba, *Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis imperium.* In Vespasian's time there went a prophecy in the East, that those that should come forth of Judea should reign over the world; which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian. Domitian dreamed, the night before he was slain, that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck; and indeed the succession that followed him for many years made golden times. Henry the Sixth of England said of Henry the Seventh, when he was a lad and gave him water, *This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which we strive.* When I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena that the queen mother, who was given to curious arts, caused the king her husband's nativity to be calculated under a false name; and the astrologer gave a judgment that he should be killed in a duel; at which the queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels; but he was slain upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver. The trivial prophecy which I heard when I was a child, and Queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was,

When hempe is spunne,
England's done:

whereby it was generally conceived that after the princes

had reigned which had the principial[b] letters of that word hempe (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth), England should come to utter confusion; which, thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of the name; for that the king's style is now no more of England, but of Britain. There was also another prophecy before the year of eighty-eight, which I do not well understand.

There shall be seen upon a day,
Between the Baugh and the May,
The black fleet of Norway.
When that that is come and gone,
England build houses of lime and stone,
For after wars shall you have none.

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet that came in eighty-eight: for that the king of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway. The prediction of Regiomontanus,

Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus,

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, of all that ever swam upon the sea. As for Cleon's dream, I think it was a jest; it was, that he was devoured of a long dragon: and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind; especially if you include dreams, and predictions of astrology: but I have set down these few only of certain credit, for example. My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter talk by the fireside: though when I say despised, I mean it as for belief; for otherwise, the

[b] *principial*] i. e. initial. I have not found the word in use elsewhere. Bacon has a word 'principiation,' also I think of his own coining. Conf. 'Separation is of three sorts . . . The third is the separating of any metal into his original, or *materia prima*, or element, or call them what you will: which work we will call *principiation*.' Works, iii. 811.

spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised, for they have done much mischief; and I see many severe laws made to suppress them. That that hath given them grace, and some credit, consisteth in three things. First, that men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss; as they do generally also of dreams. The second is, that probable conjectures or obscure traditions many times turn themselves into prophecies; while the nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretell that which indeed they do but collect[c]: as that of Seneca's verse; for so much was then subject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, which might be probably conceived not to be all sea: and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's Timaeus, and his Atlanticus, it might encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The third and last (which is the great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains merely[d] contrived and feigned, after the event past.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 254, l. 4. *Saith the Pythonissa*] This is the word used in the Vulgate about the witch whom Saul consulted.

'Mortuus est ergo Saul propter iniquitates suas, eò quod praevaricatus sit mandatum Domini et non custodierit illud, sed insuper etiam Pythonissam consuluerit.' 1 Chron. x. 13.

In the story itself she is described as 'mulier pythonem habens.' 'Dixitque Saul servis suis: Quaerite mihi mulierem habentem pythonem, et vadam ad eam et sciscitabor per illam. Et dixerunt servi ejus ad eum: Est mulier pythonem habens in Endor.' 1 Sam. xxviii. 7.

In the next verse Saul bids her 'divina mihi in pythone.' Python is the name of the serpent said to have been killed by Apollo. It is used also as a name of Apollo himself, as god of divination; as a

[c] *collect*] i. e. infer. 'Men begin already to collect, yea and to conclude, that he that raiseth such a smoke to get in, will set all on fire when he is in.' Letters and Life, vi. 234.

[d] *merely*] i. e. wholly. Conf. 'points not merely of faith.' Essay 3, and *passim*.

name of the spirit which he inspired, and as a name of the inspired man. Conf. 2 Kings xxiii. 24, 'Sed et pythones et ariolos et figuras idolorum . . . abstulit Josias.' In this last sense the man is called python, the woman pythonissa. Its use in the Vulgate marks a belief in the identity of heathen gods and devils.

Bacon, it will be observed, attributes the prophecy not to the spirit of Samuel but to the witch. In the LXX. the equivalent word to Pythonissa is *ἐγγαστρίμυθος*. In late Greek ventriloquists were termed *πύθωνες* and *πυθώνισσαι*. Are we to conclude that Bacon held that the spirit of Samuel was not raised, but that a cheat was practised on Saul helped out by ventriloquism; or is it a mere inaccuracy?

l. 5. *Homer hath* &c.] *Vide* Virgil, Aen. iii. 97, 98. As far as these verses are a prophecy of the Roman Empire they are a prophecy after the event. Homer says only—

Νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει,
Καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

Il. xx. 307, 308.

l. 8. *Seneca*] *Vide* Medea, act ii. 374–379. Conf. Hakluyt: 'Howbeit it cannot be denied but that Antiquitie had some kind of dimme glimpse and unperfect notion thereof, (i. e. of the new world). Which may appear by the relation of Plato in his two worthy dialogues of Timaeus and Critias under the discourse of that mighty large yland called by him Atlantis, lying in the Ocean Sea without the Streight of Hercules . . . being (as he there reporteth) bigger than Africa and Asia . . . And Seneca in his tragedie intituled Medea foretold above 1500 yeeres past, that in the later ages the Ocean would discover new worlds, and that the yle of Thule would no more be the uttermost limit of the earth.' Epistle Dedicatory to 3rd vol. of Voyages (edition of 1810 in 5 vols.).

Also, 'Plato in Timaeo and in the Dialogue called Critias discourseth of an incomparable large Iland then called Atlantis, being greater than all Affrike and Asia . . . so that in these our dayes there can no other mayne or islande be found or judged to be parcell of this Atlantis, then those Westerne Islands which beare now the name of America.' Discourse by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Hakluyt, iii. 33.

Conf. also Acosta, Historie of the East and West Indies: 'Many hold opinion that Seneca the Tragedian did prophecie of the West Indies in his Tragedie of Medea which translated saith thus' (a translation of the verses follows)—'the which we see plainly now accomplished . . . . But therein may a question with reason be made whether Seneca spake this by divination or poetically and by chance. I believe he did divine after the manner of wise men and well advised.' After various answers suggested to the question, Acosta

comes to the conclusion that 'Seneca did conjecture this.' Lib. i. cap. 11 (trans. 1604).

P. 255, l. 1. *The daughter of Polycrates dreamed* &c.] This well-known story is told by Herodotus, iii. 124, 125. Bacon is inaccurate in some of the minor details. The dream was not that Apollo anointed him, but *χρίεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου*. He was not crucified, but was first put to death, and then hung upon a cross: *ἐχρίετο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀνιεὶς αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἰκμάδα*. Peucer, in his De Divinatione ex Somniis, mentions this dream and its fulfilment, accurately.

l. 5. *Philip of Macedon*] This story is told, among others, by Plutarch in his life of Alexander the Great: 'King Philip . . . shortly after he was maried, dreamed that he did seale his wives belly, and that the seale wherewith he sealed left behind the print of a Lion. Certaine wizards and soothsayers told Philip that this dreame gave him warning to looke straightly to his wife. But Aristander Telmesian answered againe that it signified his wife was conceived with child, for that they do not seale a vessell that hath nothing in it: and that she was with child with a boy, which should have a Lions heart.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 673.

l. 10. *A phantasm* &c.] 'He (Brutus) thought he heard one come in to him, and casting his eye towards the doore of his tent, that he saw a wonderfull straunge and monstrous shape of a bodie comming towards him and sayd never a word. So Brutus boldly asked him what he was. . . . The spirit answered him, "I am thy evill spirit, Brutus: and thou shalt see me by the citie of Philippes." Brutus being no otherwise afraid, replied againe unto it: "Well then I shall see thee againe."' Plutarch, Life of Brutus, North's translation, p. 1006.

Conf. also: *Μέλλοντα δὲ περᾶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ, νυκτὸς ἐγρηγορότα, μαραινομένου τοῦ φωτός, ὄψιν ἰδεῖν (φασὶν) ἐφεστῶσάν οἱ παράλογον· καὶ πυθέσθαι μὲν εὐθαρσῶς, ὅστις ἀνθρώπων ἢ θεῶν εἴη· τὸ δὲ φάσμα εἰπεῖν· Ὅ σός, ὦ Βροῦτε, δαίμων κακός· ὀφθήσομαι δέ σοι καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις. καὶ ὀφθῆναί φασιν αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς τελευταίας μάχης.* Appian, De Bello Civili, iv. 134.

Peucer, in his De Divinatione ex Somniis, mentions this dream: 'Tuus ego sum Brute *κακοδαίμων*, malus genius, in Philippis me videbis.'

l. 11. *Tiberius said*] 'Non omiserim praesagium Tiberii de Servio Galba tum consule; quem, accitum et diversis sermonibus pertentatum, postremo Graecis verbis in hanc sententiam adlocutus "et tu, Galba, quandoque degustabis imperium" seram ac brevem potentiam significans, scientia Chaldaeorum artis,' &c. Ann. vi. 20.

Suetonius ascribes the prophecy to Augustus, not to Tiberius: 'Constat Augustum puero adhuc salutanti se inter aequales, adprehensa buccula, dixisse, *καὶ σὺ τέκνον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμῶν παρατρώξῃ*. Sed et Tiberius, quum comperisset imperaturum eum, verum in senecta:

"Vivat sane," ait, "quando id ad nos nihil pertinet."' Life of Galba, cap. iv.

l. 12. *In Vespasian's time*] Τὸ δὲ ἐπῶραν αὐτοὺς (τοὺς Ἰουδαίους) μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἦν χρησμὸς ἀμφίβολος ὁμοίως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ηὑρημένος γράμμασιν, ὡς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τις αὐτῶν ἄρξει τῆς οἰκουμένης. Τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ὡς οἰκεῖον ἐξέλαβον καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν σοφῶν ἐπλανήθησαν περὶ τὴν κρίσιν. Ἐδήλου δ' ἄρα τὴν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ τὸ λόγιον ἡγεμονίαν, ἀποδειχθέντος ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας αὐτοκράτορος. Josephus, De Bello Jud. vi. 5.

So too Tacitus: 'Pluribus persuasio inerat antiquis sacerdotum litteris contineri eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judaea rerum potirentur, quae ambages Vespasianum ac Titum praedixerat.' Tac. Hist. v. 13.

And Suetonius: 'Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio: esse in fatis ut eo tempore Judaea profecti rerum potirentur. Id de Imperatore Romano, quantum eventu postea praedictum paruit, Judaei ad se trahentes, rebellarunt.' Life of Vespasian, cap. iv.

l. 16. *Domitian dreamed*] 'Ipsum etiam Domitianum ferunt somniasse, gibbam sibi pone cervicem auream enatam: pro certoque habuisse beatiorem post se laetioremque portendi reipublicae statum. Sicut sane brevi evenit abstinentia et moderatione insequentium Principum.' Suetonius, Life of Domitian, cap. 23, concluding words.

The story is told also in the Advancement of Learning. Works, iii. p. 303.

l. 20. *Henry the Sixth of England* &c.] Conf. Bacon's History of King Henry VII: 'One day when King Henry the Sixth (whose innocency gave him holiness) was washing his hands at a great feast, and cast his eye upon King Henry, then a young youth, he said: "This is the lad that shall possess quietly that that we now strive for."' Works, vi. 245.

Bacon has here followed Bernard Andre's account: 'Henrico Sexto quâdam die cum proceribus et optimatibus regni convivium amplissimum agente, idem rex inter lavandum manus, comite Richemundiae accito, praedixerat illum aliquando regni gubernacula suscepturum, omniaque manu suâ (ut nunc videmus feliciter possidet) habiturum.' Bernardi Andreae Vita Henrici VII. p. 14 (edition of 1858, by Gairdner).

Hall tells the story somewhat differently, and with a more distinct touch of the marvellous: 'In this season Jasper erle of Penbroke went into Wales to visit his countie of Penbroke, where he found lord Henry, sonne to his brother Edmond Erle of Richmond, having not fully ten yeres of his age complete . . . Jasper erle of Penbroke toke this child beying his nephew out of the custodie of the Lady Harbert, and at his return he brought the childe to London to King Henry the sixte, whom when the kyng had a good space by himself secretly beholden and marked, both his wit and his likely towardnes,

he said to such princes as were then with him: "Lo surely this is he, to whom both we and our adversaries levying the possession of all thynges, shall hereafter geve rome and place." So this holy man shewed before the chaunce that should happen.' Hall's Chronicle, p. 287 (edition 1809).

Holinshed, who gives Hall's Chronicle in his list of authorities, repeats Hall's version in almost the same words. Chronicle, vol. iii. p. 302 (edition of 1808).

Shakespeare, with the licence of a poet, amplifies the story still further and varies the place and circumstances:—

'*King Henry.* My lord of Somerset, what youth is that
Of whom you seem to have so tender care?
Som. My liege, it is young Henry, Earl of Richmond.
King H. Come hither, England's hope: if secret powers
Suggest but truth to my divining thoughts,
This pretty lad will prove our country's bliss.
His looks are full of peaceful majesty,
His head by nature framed to wear a crown,
His hand to wield a sceptre; and himself
Likely in time to bless a regal throne,' &c.
King Henry VI, Part III, iv. 6.

He refers to it again in his account of Henry's dreams on the eve of the battle of Bosworth:—

'*Ghost of King Henry the Sixth rises:*—
Virtuous and holy, be thou conqueror;
Harry, that prophesied thou shouldst be king
Doth comfort thee in thy sleep; live and flourish.'
King Richard III, v. 3.

Bacon says that, partly on account of this prediction and of the holiness which it was supposed to imply, Henry VII tried to induce Pope Julius to canonize Henry VI for a saint. The attempt did not succeed; because, as Bacon believed, the Pope, 'knowing that King Henry VI was reputed in the world abroad but for a simple man, was afraid it would but diminish the estimation of that kind of honour, if there were not a distance kept between innocents and saints.' Works, vi. 233.

It was a 'natural prediction' in any case. Henry was in the direct succession on the Lancastrian side. He had just been freed from the custody in which he had been kept, as such. Edward IV, who was neither prophet nor saint, did his best, some years afterwards, to get him out of the hands of the Duke of Brittany and to put him to death, so troubled was he at the thought of the young earl's title, and so unsafe did he feel while this rival claimant was alive.

l. 22. *When I was in France,* &c.] Bayle has an interesting

note on this and on various other prophecies uttered about Henry II and his brother the Duke of Orleans. The story told to Bacon is there shown to have been of anything but 'certain memory.' Prophecies there were in abundance about the King, but no such prophecy as that in the text, and no one which was even approximately fulfilled. The story in the text was, in Bayle's opinion, not told at all until after the event, and even then with discrediting variations. Dictionary, *sub tit.* Henry II.

P. 256, l. 10. *Between the Baugh and the May*] Probably between the Bass Rock and the Isle of May, in the Firth of Forth. Some ships of the Armada were driven thither in 1588. This explanation is given in Mr. Aldis Wright's edition of the Essays. I can find no authority for the statement that 'the King of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway.'

l. 17. *The prediction of Regiomontanus*] This it can hardly be called. The history of the prediction is as follows. John Muller of Königsberg, thence called Regiomontanus, at some time shortly before his death in 1470, is said to have written four lines in German foretelling great revolutions in 1588. These lines Gaspar Bruschius latinized in 1553 and so enlarged them and altered them from their original sense as to make a wholly new prediction from them. Bacon is quoting therefore, not from the prediction of Regiomontanus, but from the latinized version of Bruschius. Eight lines, of which the line in the text forms one, are given in Bayle's Dictionary, *sub tit.* Stofler, as the work of Bruschius:—

'Post mille expletos à partu virginis annos,
Et post quingentos rursus ab axe datos,
Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus
Ingruet, et secum tristia fata trahet.
Si non hoc anno totus male concidet orbis,
Si non in nihilum terra fretumque ruat:
Cuncta tamen mundi sursum ibunt atque deorsum
Imperia, et luctus undique grandis erit.'

It is not certain that we have, even so, the complete version. De Thou says that the events were fixed to happen in the time of one Sextus, of whom the eight lines say nothing. He speaks of the original four lines as accessible in his day, but he does not say what they were. It is not easy to see how the above prediction can be thought to have been accomplished in the sending of the Spanish Armada. De Thou, a firm believer in astrological science, finds something of an accomplishment for it in the turn which might have been taken by the events of the year in France, and in various portents which actually did happen. His account of the whole affair is, 'Hic annus (1588) non furibundis vatum vocibus, sed certis

mathematicorum praedicationibus ubique mirabilis, praecipue apud nos funestus fuit regno florentissimo . . . paene everso. Joannes Mullerus, a cognomine in Franconia oppido Regiomontanus dictus, secundum Ptolemaeum omnium qui nobilissimas has artes tractarunt doctissimus, diù ante id praemonuerat quatuor versibus seu rhythmis vernaculâ linguâ exaratis, qui in Castellensi superioris Norici coenobio hodie leguntur, ante xxxv annos a Gaspare Bruschio Egrano . . . publicati: quos cum ille interpretaretur (quod mihi mirari saepius subiit) quanquam minime linguae suae ignarus, tamen dum verba Germanica aliter quam scripta erant latinè reddit, vaticinium Regiomontani longè alio maiore cumulavit, si quidem id quod ab illo praedictum erat sub Sexto quodam eventurum tradit . . . Regiomontanus autem, ut de tanto viro obiter aliquid dicam, anno salutis CIↃCCCCLXX Romae decessit . . . Hujus talis tantique viri de hoc anno praedictiones postea Joannes Stoflerus Justingensis confirmavit et post eum alii.' Conf. Thuani Historiae, cap. xc. *sub init.*, and Bayle, *sub titt.* Bruschius and Stofler.

l. 22. *As for Cleon's dream*] The reference is to the Knights, 197 et seq.:—

> Ἀλλ' ὁπόταν μάρψῃ βυρσάετος ἀγκυλοχήλης
> Γαμφηλῇσι δράκοντα κοάλεμον αἱματοπώτην,
> Δὴ τότε Παφλαγόνων μὲν ἀπόλλυται ἡ σκοροδάλμη,
> Κοιλιοπώλῃσιν δὲ θεὸς μέγα κῦδος ὀπάζει,
> Αἴ κα μὴ πωλεῖν ἀλλᾶντας μᾶλλον ἕλωνται.

This, however, was not a dream of Cleon's, but an oracle stolen from him by Nicias. It says nothing about his being devoured by a dragon. It was expounded of a maker of sausages, but not in Cleon's presence, so that it was not its exposition that troubled him, but its threatened fulfilment, towards the end of the play, in the sense in which he himself understood it. Bacon, feeling his way in the dark, says with his usual caution, 'I think it was a jest.'

P. 257, l. 2. *I see many severe laws made* &c.] e. g. 33 Henry VIII, cap. 14; 3 & 4 Edward VI, cap. 15; 5 Elizabeth, cap. 15; 23 Elizabeth, cap. 2; all of which are severe laws made against fond and phantastical prophecies. The act of 5 Elizabeth ordains a fine of £10 and one year's imprisonment for the first offence, and the forfeiture of all goods and imprisonment for life for the second offence in the case of those who endeavour by these means 'to make rebellion, insurrection, dissension, loss of life or other disturbance within this realm.' The act of 23 Elizabeth makes it felony 'if any person by any figure, casting of nativity or by calculation prophesying witchcraft conjuration, &c., seek to know and shall set forth by writing how long the Queen shall live or who shall reign after her death or shall utter any prophecies to any such intent.'

l. 5. *men mark when they hit*] Conf. 'J'en veoy qui estudient et

glosent leurs almanacs, et nous en alleguent l'auctorité aux choses qui se passent. A tant dirè, il fault qu'ils disent et la verité et le mensogne: quis est enim qui totum diem jaculans non aliquando conlineet? Je ne les estime de rien mieulx pour les veoir tumber en quelque rencontre, . . . Joinct que personne ne tient registre de leurs mescontes, d'autant qu'ils sont ordinaires et infinis.' Montaigne, Essays, bk. i. chap. 11.

l. 14. *the tradition in Plato's* &c.] i.e. the tradition that there had been a huge island, called Atlantis, lying to the west, just outside the pillars of Hercules, and larger in extent than Asia and Libya together. From this island there was a passage possible to other islands and thence to the solid continent on the shores of the true Ocean, i.e. of the Atlantic Ocean. The island of Atlantis had been swallowed up by an earthquake. The solid continent remained, so that in Plato's tale 'the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, not all sea.' Timaeus, p. 24, E. In the Critias, called by Bacon in the text the Atlanticus, (a title given as an alternative in some early editions of Plato; e.g. in Henry Stephen's Greek and Latin folio of 1578), there is a long detailed account of the lost island of Atlantis and of its inhabitants and laws.

XXXVI.

OF AMBITION.

Ambition is like choler, which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped: but if it be stopped and cannot have his way, it becometh adust[a], and thereby malign and venomous. So ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous; but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go back-
10 ward; which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or state. Therefore it is good for princes, if they use

[a] *adust*] Explained in Bullokar's English Expositor as 'burnt, scorched.' Conf. 'Such a degree of heat which doth neither melt nor scorch . . . doth mellow and not adure.' Works, ii. 446.

ambitious men, to handle it so as they be still progressive and not retrograde; which, because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all; for if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them. But since we have said it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious; for the use of their service dispenseth with[b] the rest: and to take a soldier without ambition is to pull off his spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy; for no man will take that part except he be like a seeled dove[c], that mounts and mounts because he cannot see about him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops; as Tiberius used Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus. Since therefore they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled that they may be less dangerous. There is less danger of them if they be of mean birth than if they be noble; and if they be rather harsh of nature than gracious and popular; and if they be rather new raised than grown cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in princes to have favourites; but it is, of all others, the best[d] remedy against ambitious great ones; for when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any

[b] *dispenseth with*] i. e. excuses, or compensates for. Lat. *caetera compensat.* Either sense will suit the text. Conf.

'To save a brother's life
Nature dispenses with the deed.'
Measure for Measure, act iii. sc. 1.

And, 'One loving hour
For many years of sorrow can dispense.'
Fairy Queen, bk. i. canto 3. st. 30.

[c] *a seeled dove*] i. e. a dove with the eyelids sewn up. Lat. *instar columbae occaecatae.* Notes and Illustrations, p. 267.

[d] *of all others the best*] i. e. better than any others. For this frequent Graecism, conf. 'Heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals.' Essay 3.

other should be over great. Another means to curb them is to balance them by others as proud as they: but then there must be some middle counsellors[e] to keep things steady; for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At the least, a prince may animate and inure some meaner persons to be as it were scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious to[f] ruin, if they be of fearful natures it may do well; but if they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their designs and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done[g] with safety suddenly, the only way is the interchange continually of favours and disgraces, whereby they may not know what to expect, and be as it were in a wood. Of ambitions, it is less harmful the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in everything; for that breeds confusion and mars business: but yet it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business than great in dependencies[h]. He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men hath a great task; but that is ever good for the public: but he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers is the decay of an whole age. Honour hath three things in it: the vantage ground to do good; the approach to kings and principal persons; and the raising of a man's

[e] *some middle counsellors* &c.] The Latin gives this more fully and clearly. *Sed tum opus est consiliariis aliquibus moderatoribus, qui partes medias teneant.*

[f] *obnoxious to*] i. e. somewhat under the influence of, or in the power of; hence, exposed to; in danger of. Lat. *ut se ruinae proximos putent.* Conf. 'Obnoxious to him for his favours and benefits.' Works, vi. 64, and Mr. Spedding's note on word.

[g] *and that it may not be done*] A frequent form. Conf. e. g. 'Although your journey be but as a long progress, and that your Majesty shall be still within your own land,' &c. Letters and Life, vi. 139.

[h] *great in dependencies*] Lat. *qui gratiâ et clientelis pollet.* So Bacon, in his Apology concerning the Earl of Essex, says, 'I always vehemently dissuaded him from seeking greatness by a military dependance, or by a popular dependance, as that which would breed in the Queen jealousy, in himself presumption, and in the State perturbation.' Letters and Life, iii. 145.

own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions when he aspireth is an honest man; and that prince that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth is a wise prince. Generally, let princes and states choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than of rising, and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery[1]; and let them discern a busy nature from a willing mind.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 265, l. 12. *in being screens to princes* &c.] Conf. Bacon's Advice to Villiers: 'Kings and great princes, even the wisest of them, have had their friends, their favourites, their privadoes. . . . Of these they make several uses: sometimes . . . to interpose them between themselves and the envy or malice of their people; for kings cannot err: that must be discharged upon the shoulders of their ministers; and they who are nearest unto them must be content to bear the greatest load.' Letters and Life, vi. 27. And, 'Expostulantibus quibusdam, quod honore dignaretur, ceterisque præferret, hominem improbum ac civibus invisum: Volo, inquit, esse quem me magis oderint. Agnovit ingenium multitudinis; si sit in quem invidiam odiumque derivent, mitiores sunt in principem.' Erasmus, Apophthegmata, sub tit. Dionysius.

l. 14. *a seeled dove*] Conf. 'Now she brought him to see a seeled Dove, who the blinder she was, the higher she strave.' Sidney's Arcadia, lib. i. p. 55 (4th ed. 1613).

The process of seeling is fully described in the 'St. Alban's Booke of hauking, huntyng, and fysshyng.' Conf. 'How ye shal demeane you in taking of hawkes, &c.—Who will take hawkes he must have nettes . . . and he must take with him nedle and threede to ensyle the hawkes that bene taken. And in this maner they must be ensyled. Take the nedle and threde and put it through the over eyelid and so of that other, and make them fast under the becke that she se not. Then she is ensyled as she ought to be.'

Conf. also George Turbervile, Booke of Falconrie, p. 88 (printed by Thomas Purfoot, 1611), How to seele a Sparow hawke, &c.: 'A Sparow hawke newly taken should be thus used; take a needle threeded with untwisted thread, and (casting your hawke) take her by the beake and put the needle through her eyelidde,' &c. &c., the end of the operation to be 'that the hawke may see not at all.'

[1] *upon bravery*] Lat. *ex ostentatione.* Italian, *per far mostra.*

Some lines of Denham in the Sophy seem to have been suggested by the passage in the Essay.

'KING loq. Since blinded with ambition he did soar
Like a seel'd dove, his crime shall be his punishment,
To be deprived of sight.' Act iii. sc. 1.

l. 17. *as Tiberius used Macro*] Dio Cassius (lib. lviii. cap. 9) says that Tiberius, when he thought the time ripe for dealing a final blow at Sejanus, sent Macro to Rome to take command of the praetorian guards, and with letters to the Senate and private instructions telling him what he was to do to help on the main plot. These instructions Macro carried out.

P. 266, l. 21. *the only figure amongst ciphers* &c.] This is a charge which Bacon lays against the Cecils, and of which he believed himself to have been the victim. Conf. 'In the time of the Cecils, the father and the son, able men were by design and of purpose suppressed.' Letters and Life, vi. 6. Just after the death of the Earl of Salisbury, he writes to the King urging his own virtues and just claims to an advancement which he had not obtained, but which he hopes to obtain—'now that he is gone, *quo vivente virtutibus certissimum exitium.*' Letters and Life, iv. 282.

P. 267, l. 2. *is an honest man*] This is an easy judgment. It reckons honesty by intentions which may never have been carried out in act. Bacon may, perhaps, be thought to have had his own case in mind. In his eager strivings after office, it is not unlikely that, along with his mere personal aims, there was some genuine desire 'to gain a vantage ground to do good,' or at least to pose before the world as a great public benefactor, and that dating back to this motive, he was able to please himself with the belief that he had been 'an honest man.'

XXXVII.

OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS[a].

THESE things are but toys to come amongst such serious observations; but yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy, than daubed with cost. Dancing to song is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it that the song be in

[a] *Triumphs*] i. e. Shows of some magnificence. So *passim.*

quire, placed aloft and accompanied with some broken music[b]; and the ditty fitted to the device[c]. Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace; I say acting, not dancing[d] (for that is a mean and vulgar thing); and the voices of the dialogue would be[e] strong and manly (a base and a tenor, no treble), and the ditty high and tragical, not nice or dainty. Several quires placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches anthem-wise, give great pleasure. Turning dances into figure is a childish curiosity; and generally, let it be noted that those things which I here set down are such as do naturally take the sense, and not respect petty wonderments. It is true the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure; for they feed and relieve the eye before it be full of the same object. Let the scenes abound with light specially coloured and varied; and let the masquers, or any other

[b] *broken music*] Broken music means what we now term 'a string band.' The term originated probably from harps, lutes, and such other stringed instruments as were played without a bow, not having the capability to sustain a long note to its full duration of time. Chappell's Ballad Literature and Popular Music, vol. i. p. 246, note c, on a passage quoted from Richard Braithwait, distinguishing between Sackbuts, Cornets, Shawms, and 'such other instruments going with wind,' and 'Viols, Violins or other *broken* musicke.'

[c] *the ditty fitted to the device*] i. e. the words of the song fitted to the general plot or plan of the Masque. Of 'ditty' = the words as distinguished from the music, we have the clearest instance in Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, bk. v. chap. 38. sec. 1: 'So that, although we lay altogether aside the consideration of ditty or matter, the very harmony of sounds being framed in due sort and carried from the ear to the spiritual faculties of our souls, is . . . able both to move and to moderate all affections.' For 'device,' conf. Kenilworth Festivities (1825), Part ii. pp. 28, 29, being a reprint of Gascoigne's Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth, 1575: 'The device of the Lady of the Lake was also by Master Hannis, and surely if it had been executed according to the first invention it had been a gallant shew, for, &c. And now you have as much as I could remember of the devices executed there; the Coventry shew excepted and the merry marriage.' Conf. also, Beaumont and Fletcher, the Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn, the heading of which is 'The Device or Argument' giving the plot of the Masque.

[d] *not dancing*] i. e. the dancer is not himself to sing. Dancing 'in song' is what Bacon condemns, 'dancing to song,' i. e. to the song and music of others, he has just before approved as 'a thing of great state and pleasure.'

[e] *would be*] i. e. ought to be.

that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down; for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern. Let the songs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings: let the music likewise be sharp and loud and well placed. The colours that show best by candlelight are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water green; and oes[f] or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is lost and not discerned. Let the suits of the masquers be graceful, and such as become the person when the vizors are off; not after examples of known attires; Turks, soldiers, mariners, and the like. Let anti-masques[g] not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antics[h], beasts, sprites, witches, Ethiopes, pigmies, turquets[i], nymphs, rustics,

[f] *oes*] Explained by the words which follow, and = round spangles or 'spangs,' a name given from their shape, like that of the letter O. Conf. 'In the seventeenth year of her reign, he showed that a patent was first granted to Robert Sharp to make Spangles and Oes of gold.' D'Ewes, Journals of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, p. 650 (ed. 1682).

'Fair Helena; who more engilds the night
Than all yon fiery oes and eyes of gold.'
Midsummer Night's Dream, iii. 2.

[g] *anti-masques*] A word variously explained; as (1) a performance opposed to the principal masque, being of a lower character, and having a distinct independent plot: (2) as a mistaken spelling for ante-masque, or introduction to the main performance; (3) as a hurried pronunciation of the full form, antic-masque. The examples of it show that it was sometimes an introduction, but more often an interlude; that it was always comic and buffoonish; and that it was generally, but not always, independent of the main plot of the piece. In Ben Jonson's Masque of Augurs, it is twice called an antic-masque. 'Notch loq. "Sir, all our request is, since we are come we may be admitted, if not for a masque for an antick masque."' And again. 'Groom. "But what has all this to do with our mask?" Vangoose. "Oh! Sir, all de better vor an antick-mask; de more absurd it be and vrom de purpose, it be ever all de better."' We find examples of it in Ben Jonson's Masque of Augurs; in Time Vindicated; in Neptune's Triumph, &c., &c.

[h] *antics*] Posture-mongers, buffoons. Conf.

'Fear not, my Lord; we can contain ourselves
Were he the veriest antic in the world.'
Taming of the Shrew, Induction, sc. 1.

[i] *turquets*] Probably a diminutive of Turks, and fit therefore for an anti-masque, as Turks for the masque itself.

Cupids, statuas moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques: and anything that is hideous, as devils, giants, is on the other side as unfit; but chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and with some strange changes. Some sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a company as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques, one of men another of ladies, addeth state and variety; but all is nothing except the room be kept clear and neat.

For justs[k] and tourneys[l] and barriers[m], the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots, wherein the challengers make their entry; especially if they be drawn with strange beasts: as lions, bears, camels, and the like; or in the devices of their entrance, or in the bravery[n] of their liveries, or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour[o]. But enough of these toys.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 269, l. 9. *Turning dances into figure* &c.] There are several instances of this in Ben Jonson's Masques at Court. Conf. e. g. in the

[k] *justs*] 'Justes, commeth of the French (*Joustes*. i. *decursus*) and signifieth with us, contentions betweene Martiall men by speares on horsbacke.' Cowell's Interpreter, *sub voce* 'Justes.'

[l] *tourneys*] 'Turney (*Torneamentum*) commeth of the French (*Tourney*. i. *Decursorium*) . . . and as I have heard it signifieth with us in England those combats that are made with arming swords on horsebacke. And I thinke the reason of the name to proceede from the French (*Tourner*. i. *vertere*) because it consisteth much in agilitie both of horse and man.' Cowell's Interpreter, *sub voce* 'Turney.'

[m] *barriers*] Barriers, commeth of the French (*barres*) and signifieth with us that which the Frenchmen call (*jeu de barres*. i. *palaestram*) a martial sport or exercise of men, armed and fighting together with short swords, within certain limits or lists, whereby they are severed from the beholders.' Cowell's Interpreter, *sub voce* 'Barriers.'

[n] *bravery*] Fine appointmemt, showiness. Conf. 'With scarfs and fans, and double change of bravery.' Taming of the Shrew, iv. 3.

[o] *furniture of their horses and armour*] i. e. equipment. Conf. 'Neither was there anything more base and dishonest in the course of their life than to use furniture for horses (Lat. *ephippiis uti*).' Edmundes, Caesar, Comment. bk. iv. cap. 1. (trans.). And, 'Sometimes also soldiers were honoured with other gifts, as crownes, lances, furniture of horses, bracelets, lands,' &c. Segar, Honor Military and Civil, bk. i. 20. 'He was furnished like a hunter.' As You Like It, iii. 2.

Hymenaei: 'Here they danced forth a most neat and curious measure, full of subtlety and device. . . . The strains were all notably different, some of them formed into letters, very signifying to the name of the Bridegroom, and ended in the manner of a chain, linking hands.' And, 'Here they danced their last dances, full of excellent delight and change; and, in their latter strain, fell into a fair orb or circle.' And, in the Masque of Queens: 'After it, succeeded their third dance; than which a more numerous composition could not be seen: graphically disposed into letters, and honouring the name of the most sweet and ingenious prince, Charles, Duke of York.'

XXXVIII.

OF NATURE IN MEN.

NATURE is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the return; doctrine and discourse[a] maketh nature less importune[b]; but custom only doth alter and subdue nature. He that seeketh victory over his nature, let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks; for the first will make him dejected by often failings, and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailings: and at the first let him practise with helps, as swimmers do with bladders or rushes; but after a time let him practise with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes; for it breeds great perfection if the practice be harder than the use. Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory hard, the degrees had need be, first to stay and arrest nature in time[c]; like to him that would say over the four and twenty letters when he was angry; then to go less in quantity, as if one should, in forbearing wine, come from

[a] *discourse*] Lat. *praecepta.*

[b] *importune*] i. e. importunate. The Latin adds, *sed non tollunt.*

[c] *in time*] i. e. in the matter of time. Lat. *naturam sistere ad tempus aliquod.*

drinking healths[d] to a draught at a meal; and lastly, to discontinue altogether: but if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best:

Optimus ille animi vindex laedentia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.

Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature as a wand to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right; understanding it where the contrary extreme is no vice. Let not a man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission: for both the pause reinforceth the new onset; and if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both; and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermissions. But let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far; for nature will lay buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion or temptation; like as it was with Æsop's damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the board's end till a mouse ran before her: therefore let a man either avoid the occasion altogether, or put himself often to it that he may be little moved with it. A man's nature is best perceived in privateness, for there is no affectation; in passion, for that putteth a man out of his precepts; and in a new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him. They are happy men whose natures sort[e] with their vocations; otherwise they may say, *Multum incola fuit anima mea*, when they converse in those things they do not affect. In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times, for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves;

[d] *healths*] i. e. large draughts. Lat. *a majoribus haustibus*. Fr. *les carouces* (i.e. les carrouses). *Vide* note on Essay 18.

[e] *sort*] i. e. agree. Lat. *congruit*.

so as the spaces[f] of other business or studies will suffice. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one and destroy the other.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 272, l. 1. *seldom extinguished*] Conf. 'Les inclinations naturelles s'aydent et fortifient par institution: mais elles ne se changent gueres et surmontent.' Montaigne, Essays, bk. iii. ch. 2.

l. 5. *He that seeketh* &c.] These are substantially the rules which Bacon lays down in the Advancement of Learning. Works, iii. 439.

P. 273, l. 5. *Optimus ille* &c.] Ovid, Remedia Amoris, 293. The words are 'optimus ille fuit vindex,' &c.

l. 7. *the ancient rule*] *Σκοπεῖν δὲ δεῖ πρὸς ἃ καὶ αὐτοὶ εὐκατάφοροί ἐσμεν· ἄλλοι γὰρ πρὸς ἄλλα πεφύκαμεν. . . . Εἰς τοὐναντίον δ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀφέλκειν δεῖ· πολὺ γὰρ ἀπαγαγόντες τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἥξομεν, ὅπερ οἱ τὰ διεστραμμένα τῶν ξύλων ὀρθοῦντες ποιοῦσιν.* Arist. Eth. Nicom. ii. cap. 9. sec. 4 and 5. So Montaigne: 'Pour dresser un bois courbe, on le recourbe au rebours.' Essays, bk. iii. ch. 10.

l. 8. *understanding it* &c.] The contrary extreme is necessarily a vice, but from the nature of the case it is not a vice in which there is any danger that the man will persist. Bacon probably had in his mind a passage in cap. 6, where Aristotle speaks of certain classes of actions as always vicious in whatever degree of excess or moderation they are performed: *Ὡς ἂν πράττηται ἁμαρτάνεται.*

l. 12. *and if a man that is not perfect* &c.] Cicero puts this advice into the mouth of Crassus: 'Fallit eos quod audierunt, dicendo homines ut dicant efficere solere. Verè enim etiam illud dicitur: PERVERSÈ DICERE HOMINES PERVERSÈ DICENDO FACILLIMÈ CONSEQUI. Quamobrem in istis ipsis exercitationibus, etsi utile est etiam subito saepe dicere, tamen illud utilius, sumpto spatio ad cogitandum paratius atque accuratius dicere.' Cic. de Orat. i. 33.

l. 18. *with Aesop's damsel*] Conf. 'Aesopi fabulae graecolatinae.' Neveletus, Fab. 172. But the fiasco came, not at table, but in the marriage chamber. 'Cum in thalamo vero considerent,' &c.

l. 27. *Multum incola fuit anima mea*] Ps. cxx. 6, Vulgate. The pointing differs in the Vulgate from that of the English versions. In the Vulgate the words, as Bacon quotes them, are complete. Verse 7 continues: 'Cum his qui oderunt pacem eram pacificus.' The

[f] *so as the spaces*, &c.] The Latin renders this by *prout negotia et studia cetera permittunt.* But we get a better sense by taking *as* here (as in many places elsewhere) = *that.* The passage will then mean—so that, without setting apart any fixed hours, he may trust himself to find time and opportunity in the intervals of other business,

Septuagint points as the Vulgate does: cxix. 6, Πολλὰ *παρῴκησεν ἡ ψυχή μου· μετὰ τῶν μισούντων τὴν εἰρήνην* (7) *ἤμην εἰρηνικός, κ.τ.λ.* The quotation is one which Bacon elsewhere uses to describe his own case. It is one of his stock phrases, and he uses it with grand effect for very different occasions. He writes, e. g. in a letter to Sir Thomas Bodley, after his fall from high place: 'I think no man may more truly say with the Psalm, *Multum incola fuit anima mea*, than myself. For I do confess, since I was of any understanding, my mind hath in effect been absent from that I have done . . . knowing myself by inward calling to be fitter to hold a book than to play a part, I have led my life in civil causes; for which I was not very fit by nature, and more unfit, by the preoccupation of my mind.' Letters and Life, iii. 253. Again in a private prayer, written in 1621, and termed by Addison the devotion of an angel rather than a man: 'Besides my innumerable sins, I confess before thee that I am a debtor to thee for the gracious talent of thy gifts and graces, which I have neither put into a napkin, nor put it (as I ought) to exchangers where it might have made best profit: but misspent it in things for which I was least fit: so as I may truly say, my soul hath been a stranger in the course of my pilgrimage.' Letters and Life, vii. 230. In an earlier letter to the King, written in 1612, asking for employment in state business, he uses the same phrase with a drift exactly the opposite: 'I may truly say with the Psalm, *Multum incola fuit anima mea;* for my life hath been conversant in things wherein I take little pleasure.' Letters and Life, iv. 281. The complaint here is that he had not been allowed to play a part in civil affairs. It is the sense only which shifts. The language and posture are, in either case, magnificent.

XXXIX.

OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION.

MEN's thoughts are much according to their inclination: their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions[a]; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed: and, therefore, as Macciavel well noteth (though in an evil-favoured instance) there is no trusting to the force of nature nor to the bravery of words,

[a] *infused opinions*] Lat. *opiniones quas imbiberunt.*

except it be corroborate by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature or his resolute undertakings[b]; but take such an one as hath had his hands formerly in blood; but Macciavel knew not of a Friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard; yet his rule holdeth still, that nature nor the engagement of words are not so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced that men of the first blood[c] are as firm as butchers by occupation; and votary resolution[d] is made equipollent to custom even in matter of blood. In other things, the predominancy of custom is everywhere visible; insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images, and engines moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians (I mean the sect of their wise men) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire: nay, the wives strive to be burned with the corpses of their husbands. The lads of Sparta of ancient time were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as quecheing[e].

[b] *resolute undertakings*] Lat. *in promissis constantibus nedum juramentis.*

[c] *men of the first blood*] i. e. men who have their hands in blood for the first time. The Latin gives, by an obvious error, *primae classis sicarii.* The French, correctly, *ceux qui ne sont que novices en matière de sang.* In the Italian version the sentence is omitted.

[d] *votary resolution*] Lat. *decreta votiva,* Fr. *votarie Jésuitique.* Conf. 'There the custom was that upon the commandment of their king, and a blind obedience to be given thereunto, any of them was to undertake, in the nature of a votary, the insidious murder of any prince or person upon whom the commandment went.' Works, vii. 32.

[e] *quecheing*] Nares (Glossary) explains this word as a variant of quich or quinch; to stir or twist. Conf. Spenser, Fairie Queen, v. 9, 33:—

'With a strong yron chain and collar bound
That once he could not move nor quich at all.'

Also, View of the State of Ireland: 'I purpose . . . to bestow all my souldiers in such sort as I have done, that no part of all that realme shall be able to dare to quinch.' Also Plutarch, Laconick apophthegmes (Holland's translation): 'The unhappy beast being

I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemned put up a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a withe, and not in an halter, because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia for penance that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged[f] with hard ice. Many examples may be put of the force of custom both upon mind and body: therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate[g] of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly, custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: this we call education, which is in effect but an early custom. So we see, in languages the tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions in youth than afterwards; for it is true that late learners cannot so well take the ply[h], except it be in some minds that have not

angred, gnawed and bit him in the flank as far as to his very bowels, which he endured resolutely and never quetched at it, for fear he should be discover'd (Greek, *ἠρέμει, ἵνα μὴ γένηται καταφανής*).' Also, in passage quoted below (p. 279), from Life of Alexander, 'nor quitched when the fire took him' is in the original *οὐκ ἐκινήθη τοῦ πυρὸς πλησιάζοντος*. But Bacon, referring elsewhere to the story in the text, says—'the Spartan boys, which were wont to be scourged upon the altar so bitterly as sometimes they died of it, and yet were never heard complain.' Works, vii. 99. Cicero and Montaigne, both of whom he may have had in mind, say the same. Conf. Cicero, Tusc. Disp. v. 27: 'Pueri Spartiatae non ingemiscunt verberum dolore laniati.' Montaigne, ii. 32: 'Il se trouvait des enfants, en cette preuve de patience à quoy on les essayoit devant l'autel de Diane, qui souffroient d'y estre fouettez jusques à ce que le sang leur couloit par tout, non seulement sans s'escrier, mais encore sans gemir.' Elsewhere, however, he speaks of them as 'fouettez jusques à la mort sans alterir leur visage,' bk. i. chap. 40. In the Latin translation of the Essays we find the passage rendered, *vix ejaculatu aut gemitu ullo emisso.* In the French and Italian versions, following the edition of 1612, the sentence does not appear. There seems, on the whole evidence, no doubt as to the proper meaning of the word, though this does not appear to be the meaning which Bacon gave to it and was understood by his contemporaries to have given to it.

[f] *engaged*] i. e. fastened down, Lat. *donec glacie constringantur.*

[g] *principal magistrate*] Lat. *summus humanae vitae moderator et magistratus.* Conf. 'Natura pedantius quidam est: consuetudo magistratus.' Works, i. 692, Antitheta.

[h] *cannot so well take the ply*] i. e. are not so pliant. Lat. *novam plicam non bene admittere.* Conf. 'He is by nature unsociable, and by habit popular,

suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare. But if the force of custom simple and separate be great, the force of custom copulate and conjoined and collegiate[i] is far greater; for there example teacheth, company comforteth[k], emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth; so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation[l]. Certainly, the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined; for commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds; but the misery is that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 275, l. 4. *Macciavel well noteth*] Speaking of the difficulties attending the assassination of a Prince he says, 'In such executions an inconvenient or errour many times arises either for lacke of discretion or courage: for, when the one or other of these two once amazes thee, thou art borne forward in such confusion of thy understanding that it makes thee both say and doe what thou oughtst not . . . For it is impossible that any man (though of a resolute courage and accustomed to the slaughters of men and use of his weapons) should not bee quite astonished. Therefore choice is to be made of men experienced in such matters, nor should one commit them to any other, however he be esteemed very couragious: so let no man who hath not formerly made tryall of himselfe presume too much upon

and too old now to take a new ply.' Letters and Life, vi. 233.

[i] *collegiate*] Lat. *in collegium coacta.*

[k] *comforteth*] i. e. strengthens. Conf. 'The evidence of God's own testimony, added to the natural assent of reason concerning the certainty of them, doth not a little comfort and confirm the same.' Hooker, Eccl. Pol. bk. i. cap. 12. sec. 1.

[l] *is in his exaltation*] i. e. is highest and most potent; an astronomical term used about a star in its most dominant position and exercising its utmost influence. Conf. 'Planeta, cum fuerit in exaltatione sua, est sicut vir in regno suo et gloria.' R. Bacon, Opus Majus, p. 164 (Jebb's ed. folio). 'Fontem facimus planetam ac stellam quamlibet, quoties eousque ad exaltationem conscendit, ut M. penetrat et id secundum naturam suam temperet.' Paracelsus, vol. i. p. 11 *a*. (The folio ed. of 1658 in three vols. Geneva.) M. is here the name of a mysterious ether enveloping the earth.

his courage in the performance of any great exploit.' Discourses on Livy, iii. 6.

P. 276, l. 6. *Friar Clement*] Jacques Clément assassinated Henry III of France, 1589.

Ravillac] François Ravaillac assassinated Henry IV of France, 1610.

Jaureguy] John Jaureguy wounded William, Prince of Orange, in the head, severely but not fatally, with a pistol-bullet, 1582.

l. 7. *Baltazar Gerard*] Assassinated William, 1584. The above crimes, to which several others might have been added, were committed under the impulse of a strong religious fanaticism and a devotion to the Catholic cause. The Latin adds *aut Guidone Faulxio*, and says that, of all these, *Macciavello nihil innotuit*—as if the omission had been due to some carelessness on Machiavelli's part!

l. 18. *The Indians* &c.] Conf. 'Quae barbaria India vastior aut agrestior? In ea tamen gente, primum ii qui sapientes habentur, nudi aetatem agunt et Caucasi nives hiemalemque vim perferunt sine dolore; cumque ad flammam se applicaverint, sine gemitu aduruntur.' Cicero, Tusc. Disp. v. 27.

'There also Calanus, the Indian philosopher, . . . prayed that they would make him a stacke of wood, such as they use to burn dead bodies on . . . When he had said these words, he laid him downe upon the wood-stacke, covered his face, and never stirred hand nor foot, nor quitched when the fire took him, but did sacrifice himselfe in this sort, as the maner of his countree was, that the wise men should so sacrifice themselves.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 708.

Lucian refers to the same: ΖΕΥΣ. *Τοὺς γυμνοσοφιστὰς λέγεις. Ἀκούω γοῦν τά τε ἄλλα περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ πυρὰν μεγίστην ἀναβάντες ἀνέχονται καιόμενοι οὐδὲν τοῦ σχήματος ἢ τῆς καθέδρας ἐκτρέποντες.* Fugitivi, sec. 7.

The Latin has *loquor de gymosophistis et antiquis et modernis;* but the clear mistake in p. 276, l. 10, is proof that the translation of this Essay was not revised by Bacon.

l. 20. *nay, the wives strive* &c.] 'Mulieres vero in India, cum est cujusvis earum vir mortuus, in certamen judiciumque veniunt quam plurimum ille dilexerit . . . quae est victrix, ea laeta, prosequentibus suis, una cum viro in rogum imponitur; illa victa, maesta discedit.' Cicero, Tusc. Disp. v. 27.

Conf. also: 'Many of the women also, when their husbands die and are placed on the pile to be burnt, do burn themselves along with the bodies. And such women as do this have great praise from all.' Marco Polo, Travels, iii. 17.

That the wives were burnt is certain; and there is evidence that they were sometimes willing victims, and abundant evidence that they were not always so.

P. 277, l. 1. *I remember* &c.] That withes or withies were used for

halters is certain. There is a story that among some Irish rebels, captured by Raleigh in 1580, 'There was one who carried and was laden with withs, which they used instead of halters: and being demanded what he would do with them, and why he carried them, gave answer that they were to hang up English churls: for so they call Englishmen. Is it so (quoth the captain) well, they shall now serve for an Irish kerne; and so commanded him to be hanged up with one of his own withs.' Hooper's continuation of Holingshed's Chronicles, vol. vi. p. 437 (ed. of 1808).

Conf. also Rob Roy, chap. 17: 'There is as much between the craig and the woodie as there is between the cup and the lip.' A note explains 'the craig and the woodie' as = the throat and the withy; and adds 'that twigs of willow, such as bind fagots, were often used for halters in Scotland and Ireland, being a sage economy of hemp.'

The tale of the petition to the deputy rests, as far as I can discover, on Bacon's word that he remembers the occurrence. It is told by Cox of Bryan O'Rourke who was hanged in 1597: 'Of this O'Rourke there go two pleasant stories; ... the other that he gravely petitioned the Queen, not for life or pardon, but that he might be hanged with a gad or with, after his own countrey fashion; which doubtless was readily granted him.' Cox, Hibernia Anglicana, p. 399 (ed. 1689).

Cox gives as his authorities, O'Sullevan, Historiae Catholicae compendium, who does not mention the story at all, and Bacon's Essay, where the petitioner is not named, and where the date is fixed 'in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time.' Mr Wright, in his edition of the Essays, says that the incident is introduced into *the first part of Sir John Oldcastle* (K 3 verso, ed. 1600), where the Irishman appeals to the judge: 'Prethee Lord ... let me be hanged in a wyth after my country the Irish fashion.' Can this be the origin of the story, vouched for by Bacon, and repeated after him by Cox?

l. 5. *monks in Russia* &c.] I have not found any exact confirmation of this. There is abundant evidence of the extraordinary tolerance of cold by the Russian monks and by the people generally. Conf. 'Besides these they have certeyne Eremites (whom they call holy men) ... They use to go starke naked, save a clout about their middle ... even in the very extremity of winter. Of this kinde there are not many, because it is a very harde and colde profession to goe naked in Russia, especially in winter.' Fletcher, Of the Russe Commonwealth, (1591), pp. 89, 90.

'They have holie water in like use and estimation as the Popish Church hath. But herein they exceed them that they hallow all the rivers of the countrey once every yeere. When they are come to the river, a great hole is made in the yse. Then beginneth the Patriarch to say certaine prayers, and conjureth the divel to come out of the water; and so casting in salt and censing it with frankin-

cense, maketh the whole river to become holy water. When the ceremonies are ended, you shal see the women dippe in their children over head and eares, and many men and women leape into it, some naked, some with their clothes on, when some man would thinke his finger would freese off if he should but dippe it into the water.' pp. 103, 104.

'The Russe, because that he is used to both these extremities of heat and of cold, can beare them both a great deal more patiently then strangers can doo. You shall see them sometimes (to season their bodies) come out of their bathstones all on a froth, and fuming as hote almost as a pigge at a spitte, and presently to leape into the river starke naked, or to powre colde water all over their bodies, and that in the coldest of all the winter time.' p. 113.

'Bis in anno, semel in die Epiphaniae, iterum ante Beatissimae Virginis assumptionem, benedicit Metropolita flumini Moscuae, alii vero sacerdotes aliis fluminibus. In eo multi mares foeminaeque trina mersione toti immerguntur. Equi item et imagines quasi baptizantur . . . Qui mos sive ritus licet non praeceptus sit omnibus, plures tamen eum ex religione sic servant ut aegroti quoque, qui sibi ea ratione putant ad valetudinem consulere, summo in gelu effossa glacie, per foramen in aquam demissi eximantur.' Antonii Possevini de rebus Moscovitis, p. 6 *a* (ed. 1587).

l. 13. *So we see, in languages* &c.] Montaigne has the same remark in nearly the same words: 'Les nations voisines, où le langage est plus esloigné du nostre, et auquel, si vous ne la formez de bonne heure, la langue ne se peut plier.' Essays, bk. i. chap. 25.

P. 278, l. 12. *the misery is* &c.] Bacon seems here to be referring to the colleges of the Jesuits. Conf. 'Education—which excellent part of ancient discipline hath been in some sort revived of late time by the colleges of the Jesuits; of whom, although in regard of their superstition I may say, "Quo meliores eo deteriores;" yet,' &c. Works, iii. 277.

This reflexion on the colleges of the Jesuits is omitted in the corresponding later passage in the De Augmentis Scientiarum, Works, i. 445. The passage in the Essay shows that the omission was not due to any change of opinion on Bacon's part. It is translated in the Italian version, being much too enigmatical to offend his Catholic readers.

XL.

OF FORTUNE.

It cannot be denied but outward accidents conduce much to fortune; favour, opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue: but chiefly the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands: *Faber quisque fortunae suae*, saith the poet; and the most frequent of external causes is that the folly of one man is the fortune of another; for no man prospers so suddenly as by others' errors. *Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non fit draco.* Overt and apparent[a] virtues bring forth praise; but there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune; certain deliveries of a man's self[b], which have no name. The Spanish name, *disemboltura*[c], partly expresseth them; when there be not stonds[d] nor restiveness in a man's nature, but that the wheels of his mind keep way with

[a] *apparent*] i. e. clearly visible. Lat. *conspicuae.* Apparent—clear, manifest, certain. Bullokar, English Expositor, *sub voce.* Conf. 'A change there is apparent and great.' Letters and Life, vii. 315.

'I would not spare my brother in this case,
If he should scorn me so apparently.'
Comedy of Errors, iv. 1.

[b] *deliveries of a man's self*] The Latin gives *facultates nonnullae sese expediendi*, seemingly limiting the sense to skill in extricating himself from troubles. 'Deliveries' is so used elsewhere in the Essays. Conf. 19: 'This is true; that the wisdom of all these latter times in Princes affairs is rather fine deliveries and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs when they are near, than,' &c. Lat. *remedia et subterfugia malorum et periculorum.* In the passage in the text, this sense does not well agree with the words which follow. The caution that the wheels of the mind must keep way with the wheels of fortune seems to point to something more positive than an art of escape from troubles. The word occurs in Letters and Life, i. 206, in a sense more suited to the text—'he hath one of the rarest and most excellent wits of England, with a singular delivery and application of the same.' We may take 'deliveries,' therefore, as here = the art of using or giving effect in practice to a man's qualities and endowments in the most complete way of which his outward circumstances admit.

[c] *disemboltura*] There is no such word. Bacon probably means 'desenvoltura,' i. e. easy carriage, grace of movement. This is the word substituted in the Italian version.

[d] *stonds*] i. e. stoppages, impediments. Conf. 'The removing of the stonds and impediments of the mind doth often clear the passage and current of a man's fortune.' Works, vii. 99.

the wheels of his fortune; for so Livy (after he had described Cato Major in these words, *In illo viro, tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi facturus videretur*), falleth upon that that he had *versatile ingenium:* therefore, if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see Fortune; for though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of Fortune is like the milken way in the sky; which is a meeting or knot of a number of small stars, not seen asunder, but giving light together: so are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate. The Italians note some of them, such as a man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath *Poco di matto;* and certainly there be not two more fortunate properties than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest; therefore extreme lovers of their country or masters were never fortunate; neither can they be; for when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way. An hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remover; (the French hath it better, *entreprenant* or *remuant*); but the exercised[e] fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to be honoured and respected and it be[f] but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation; for those two Felicity breedeth; the first within a man's self, the latter in others towards him. All wise men, to decline the envy of their own virtues[g], use to ascribe them to

[e] *exercised*] i. e. made use of, turned to account. Lat. *exercita*.

[f] *and it be*] i. e. if it be. Conf. 'A man may keep a corner of his mind from his friend, and it be but to witness to himself that,' &c. Essay on Friendship, in the edition of 1612. Works, vi. 558. So Bacon sometimes begins his speeches in Parliament with, 'And it please you, Mr. Speaker.' Conf. e. g. Letters and Life, iv. 191.

[g] *virtues*] i. e. great qualities of any kind. 'The envy of their own virtues' must mean here the envy excited not by the virtues themselves but by their achieved results. These and not the virtues are what they 'use to ascribe to Providence and Fortune.'

Providence and Fortune; for so they may the better assume them: and, besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Caesar said to the pilot in the tempest, *Caesarem portas, et fortunam ejus.* So Sylla chose the name of *Felix* and not of *Magnus:* and it hath been noted, that those who ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy, end infortunate. It is written that Timotheus the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, *and in this Fortune had no part,* never prospered in anything he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide[h] and easiness more than the verses of other poets; as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's fortune in respect of that of Agesilaus or Epaminondas: and that this should be, no doubt it is much in a man's self.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 282, l. 4. *in his own hands*] Conf. 'Je m'en vais clorre ce pas par un verset ancien que je treuve singulièrement beau à ce propos; Sui cuique mores fingunt fortunam.' Montaigne, Essays, bk. i. chap. 42. The quotation is from Nepos, Life of Atticus, cap. 11.

Faber quisque fortunae suae, saith the poet] Lat. *inquit comicus.* Conf. Works, iii. 454: 'This wisdom the Romans did take much knowledge of: Nam pol sapiens (saith the comical poet) fingit fortunam sibi, and it grew to an adage Faber quisque fortunae suae.'

The reference here is to Trinummus, ii. sc. 2: 'Nam sapiens quidem, pol, ipse fingit fortunam sibi.' It seems clear from the above, that Bacon supposed the adage to have had its origin from the passage in Plautus. In the Epistolae de Republica Ordinanda (attributed doubtfully to Sallust), the authorship is assigned to Appius, i.e. to A. Claudius Caecus, a much earlier writer: 'Res docuit id verum esse quod in carminibus Appius ait, fabrum esse (suae) quemque fortunae.' Ep. i (just at beginning).

[h] *a slide*] i.e a smoothness of movement. Lat. *majore cum facultate fluunt.* Conf. 'shall have a better slide into their business.' (Lat. *negotia sua mollius fluere sentient*). Essay 14.

Bacon says, in his Discourse touching helps for the intellectual powers,—'I did ever hold it for an insolent and unlucky saying, Faber quisque suae fortunae, except it be altered only as a hortative or spur to correct sloth.' Works, vii. 98. He goes on, very much in the strain of the Essay, to condemn insolence, with its attendant ill-luck, and to prefer attributing much 'to felicity and providence above him.'

Sir Nicholas Bacon frequently used the adage.—'He would say that though he knew *unusquisque suae fortunae faber* was a good and true principle, yet the most in number were those that marred themselves.' Sir R. Naunton, Fragmenta Regalia, *sub. tit.* Sir N. Bacon. Montaigne gives another turn to it: 'sapiens . . . pol ipse fingit fortunam sibi. Que lui reste il à desirer.' Essays, bk. i. chap. 42.

l. 7. *Serpens nisi* &c.] '*Dracones sunt in rerum natura*, inquit *D. Franzius* (part 4, Hist. Animal. c. 5.), sed nihil sunt aliud nisi serpentes, valde annosi et aucti admodum. Hinc extitit vulgatum verbum serpens, nisi serpentem devoraverit, non fit Draco.' Georgi Casparis Kirchmajeri, de draconibus volantibus, epistolica dissertatio. 'Proprie tamen draco dicitur de serpente annoso qui multa aetate in inusitatam magnitudinem excrevit, ut liquido apparet ex hoc proverbio Graeco, *ὄφις εἰ μὴ φάγῃ ὄφιν, δράκων οὐ γενήσεται.* Serpens nisi ederit serpentem, non fiet draco. Nam inter serpentum genera, (inquit Pierius) dracones ii vocantur, qui corpore sunt immaniore, vastioreque magnitudine.' Gesner, Hist. Animalium, lib. v. De Dracone, sec. A.

Conf. also Erasmi Adagia, *sub titulo* Serpens, &c: '*Ὄφις ἢν μὴ φάγῃ ὄφιν, δράκων οὐ γενήσεται.* i. Serpens nisi serpentem edat, non futurus est draco. Potentes aliorum damnis crescunt, et optimatum fortunae non tantum augerentur, nisi essent quos exsugerent. Quemadmodum inter pisces et belluas, majores vivunt laniatu minorum. Quanquam mihi quidem et hoc dictum fecem vulgi videtur olere.' This view of it does not seem to have suggested itself to Bacon's mind.

P. 283, l. 1. *so Livy*] Livy's words are, 'In hoc viro tanta vis animi ingeniique fuit, ut, quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi ipse facturus fuisse videretur.' He adds presently, after other praises, 'Huic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceres, quodcunque ageret.' Bk. xxxix. cap. 40.

Montaigne quotes the above passage at length: 'Les plus belles ames sont celles qui ont plus de varieté et de soupplesse. Voyla un honorable tesmoignage du vieux Caton: huic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceres, quodcumque ageret.' Essays, bk. iii. chap. 3.

l. 6. *though she be blind*] *Τυφλόν γε καὶ δυστηνόν ἐστιν ἡ τύχη,* Menander, Progami, Meineke, Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum, iv. p. 195. 'Non enim solum ipsa fortuna caeca est, sed eos etiam plerumque efficit caecos quos amplexa est.' Cic. De Amicitia, xv. 54.

'Fortunam insanam esse et caecam et brutam perhibent philosophi.' Pacuvius, Fragmenta, 160 (Corpus Poet. Latin.).

Plutarch, in his discourse of Fortune, writes somewhat in Bacon's strain: 'We do her wrong in reproaching her for blindnesse, when we run upon her as we do, blind, and debasing ourselves unto her: for how can we chuse but stumble upon her indeed if we pluck out our own eyes, to wit our wisdom and dexterity of counsell, and take a blind guide to lead us by the hand in the course of this our life?' Plutarch, Morals, p. 190.

l. 15. *Poco di matto*] Conf. 'Tenez vous dans la route commune: il ne faict mie bon estre si subtil et si fin: souvienne vous de ce que dict le proverbe toscan—Chi troppo s' assottiglia, si scavezza.' Montaigne, Essays, lib. ii. chap. 12.

P. 284, l. 3. *So Caesar*] 'He (Caesar) took ship in the night apparelled like a slave. The pinnase lay in the mouth of the river Anius, the which commonly was wont to be very calme and quiet. But that night, by ill fortune, there came a great wind from the sea, insomuch as the force and strength of the river fighting against the violence and rage of the waves of the sea, the encounter was marvellous dangerous. Thereupon the master of the pinnace seeing he could not possibly get out of the mouth of this river, bad the mariners to cast about again and to return against the stream. Caesar, hearing that, straight discovered himself unto the master of the pinnase, who at the first was amazed when he saw him: but Caesar then taking him by the hand, said unto him, Good fellow, be of good cheare and forwards hardily, feare not, for thou hast Caesar and his fortune with thee.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 729.

l. 4. *So Sylla*] 'In the end of his triumph, he (Sylla) made an oration in open assembly of the people of Rome, in the which he did not only declare unto them (according to the custome) what things he had done, but did as carefully tell them also as well of his good fortune and successe as of his valiant deeds besides: and to conclude his oration, told them that by reason of the great favour fortune had shewed him, he would from thenceforth be called by them, Felix, to say, happy or fortunate.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 486.

Cardan had noted this: 'Sed et fortunae potius referre decet, quam industriae vel virtuti, quae eveniunt bona. Unde Sylla se Felicem voluit appellari.' Prudentia Civilis, cap. 107, De invidia abolenda.

l. 8. *Timotheus*] 'One day, when this Timotheus was returned from the wars with great victories, after he had openly acquainted the Athenians with the whole discourse of his doings in his voyage, he sayd unto them: My Lords of Athens, fortune hath had no part in all this which I have told unto you. Hereupon the gods it should seeme were so angrie with this foolish ambition of Timotheus, that

he never afterwards did any worthie thing, but all went utterly against the haire with him; untill at the length he came to be so hated of the people that in the end they banished him from Athens.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 467.

The above story is introduced into the Life of Sylla to bring out by contrast the different language which Sylla habitually used.

l. 14. *as Plutarch saith*] 'Like as Antimachus' verses and Dionysius' painting (both Colophonians) are full of sinewes and strength, and yet at this present we see they are things greatly laboured, and made with much paine; and that contrariwise in Nicomachus' tables and Homer's verses, besides the passing workmanship and singular grace in them, a man findeth at the first sight that they were easily made and without great paine. Even so in like manner whosoever will compare the painfull bloudie warres and battels of Epaminondas and Agesilaus with the wars of Timoleon, in the which besides equitie and justice there is also great ease and quietnesse: he shall find, weighing things indifferently, that they have not bene fortune's doings simply, but that they came of a most noble and fortunate courage. Yet he himself doth wisely impute it unto his good hap and favorable fortune.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 282.

XLI.

OF USURY.

MANY have made witty invectives against usury. They say that it is pity the devil should have God's part, which is the tithe[a], that the usurer is the greatest Sabbath-breaker, because his plough goeth every Sunday; that the usurer is the drone that Virgil speaketh of:

Ignavum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent;

that the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was, *in sudore vultûs tui comedes panem tuum;* not, *in sudore vultûs alieni;* that usurers should have orange-tawny bonnets, because they 10

[a] *the tithe*] i.e. 10 per cent.—the rate of interest allowed by 37 Henry VIII. cap. 9.

do Judaize; that it is against nature for money to beget money, and the like. I say this only, that usury is a *concessum propter duritiem cordis:* for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. Some others have made suspicious and cunning propositions of banks[b], discovery of men's estates[c], and other inventions; but few have spoken of usury usefully. It is good to set before us the incommodities and commodities of usury, that the good may be either weighed out or culled out; and warily to provide that, while we make forth to that which is better[d], we meet not with that which is worse.

The discommodities of usury are, first, that it makes fewer merchants; for were it not for this lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still but would in great part be employed upon merchandising, which is the *vena porta*[e] of wealth in a state: the second, that it makes poor merchants; for as a farmer cannot husband his ground[f] so well if he sit at a great rent, so the merchant cannot drive his trade so well if he sit at great usury: the third is incident to the other two; and that is, the decay of customs of kings or states, which ebb or flow with merchandising: the fourth, that it bringeth the treasure of a realm or state into a few hands; for the usurer being at certainties, and

[b] *banks*] Bank is seemingly here = mont de piété. Conf. 'A bill for the establishment of seven banks, to be known by the name of "Banks for the relief of common necessity," and to lend money on pledges or pawns at the rate of 6 per cent.' Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1571, April 21.

[c] *discovery of men's estates*] i. e. enquiries for ascertaining exactly what men are worth, and for tracing out what they do with their money. Lat. *detectione fortunarum hominum singulorum.*

[d] *while we make forth* &c.] i. e. while we try to improve matters by regulating usury. Lat. *ne dum foenore feramur in melius, intercipiamur et incidamus in pejus.* The wary provision here referred to seems to be the same as 'the bridge or passage from the practice to the reformation,' in Bacon's paper on Usury, viz. an order to the Courts of Equity to forbid those who had lent money at the higher rate from calling it in as soon as the rate was reduced. *Vide* Letters and Life, vii. 419, and conf. note on p. 294.

[e] *vena porta*] *Vide* note on Essay 19, p. 143.

[f] *cannot husband* &c.] Lat. *terram colere ita fructuose nequit.*

others at uncertainties, at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box; and ever a state flourisheth when wealth is more equally spread: the fifth, that it beats down the price of land; for the employment of money is chiefly either merchandising or purchasing, and usury waylays both: the sixth, that it doth dull and damp all industries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring if it were not for this slug[g]: the last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates, which in process of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other side, the commodities of usury are, first, that howsoever usury in some respect hindereth merchandising, yet in some other it advanceth it; for it is certain that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants upon borrowing at interest; so as if the usurer either call in or keep back his money, there will ensue presently a great stand of trade: the second is, that were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their means (be it lands or goods), far under foot[h]; and so, whereas usury doth but gnaw upon them, bad markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging or pawning, it will little mend the matter: for either men will not take pawns without use[i], or if they do, they will look precisely for

[g] *for this slug*] Lat. *nisi a torpedine ista impediretur.* Conf. 'Nay, they are indeed but remoras and hindrances to stay and slug the ship from further sailing.' Works, iii. 358.

[h] *far under foot*] i. e. far below their real value. Lat. *nimis vili pretio.* Conf. 'Such commodities are bought at extreme high rates, and sold again far under foot to a double loss.' Letters and Life, vii. 420. And, 'When men did let their land under foot, the tenants would fight for their landlords, so that way they had their retribution.' Selden, Table Talk, sub tit. Land.

[i] *will not take pawns without use*] i. e. will not take securities in pledge (and lend money upon them) without exacting interest. Lat. *ea prorsus non accipient homines sine foenore.* For pawns, conf. 'Do you hear, Sir? we have no store of money at this time, but you shall have good pawns: look you, Sir, this jewel, and that gentleman's silk stockings.' Every Man in his Humour, act iv. sc. 9. For use = usury or interest, conf. in Calendar of State Papers, Dec. 1602, an objection made by the inhabitants of Hereford to the appointment of Dr. Bennet as

the forfeiture. I remember a cruel moneyed man in the country that would say, The devil take this usury, it keeps us from forfeitures of mortgages and bonds. The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped: therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle; all states have ever had it in one kind or rate or other; so as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.

To speak now of the reformation and reglement of usury, how the discommodities of it may be best avoided and the commodities retained. It appears, by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury, two things are to be reconciled; the one that the tooth of usury be grinded that it bite not too much; the other that there be left open a means to invite moneyed men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening of trade. This cannot be done except you introduce two several sorts[k] of usury, a less and a greater; for if you reduce usury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek for[1] money: and it is to be noted that the trade of merchandise being the most lucrative, may bear usury at a good rate: other contracts not so.

Bishop of Hereford on the ground, *inter alia*, that 'He lets his money to use, which though tolerated in laymen is scandalous in one of his calling.' Dr. Bennet's reply is, 'I never let money to usury, which I detest.' And, 'And let me tell you, this kind of fishing with a dead rod and laying night hooks, are like putting money to use, for they both work for the owners, when they do nothing but sleep or eat or rejoice.' Walton and Cotton's Complete Angler, part 1, cap. 5.

[k] *two several sorts*] i. e. two distinct sorts. Conf. Essay 6, 'Habits and faculties several and to be distinguished,' and note on passage.

[1] *will be to seek for*] i. e. will be at a loss for. Lat. *pecunias non facile reperiet.* Conf. 'Men bred in learning are perhaps to seek in points of convenience and accommodating for the present.' Works, iii. 271.

'For finding himself (thanks be to God) to seek, in her majesty's government, of any just pretext in matter of state . . . he was forced to descend to the pretext of a private quarrel.' Letters and Life, ii. 267.

To serve both intentions, the way would be briefly thus: that there be two rates of usury; the one free and general for all; the other under licence only to certain persons, and in certain places of merchandising. First therefore, let usury in general be reduced to five in the hundred, and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the state shut itself out to take[m] any penalty for the same; this will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness; this will ease infinite borrowers in the country; this will in good part raise the price of land, because land purchased at sixteen years' purchase will yield six in the hundred and somewhat more, whereas this rate of interest yields but five; this by like reason will encourage and edge industrious and profitable improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind than take five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit. Secondly, let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury at a higher rate, and let it be with the cautions following: let the rate be, even with the merchant himself, somewhat more easy than that he used formerly to pay; for by that means all borrowers shall have some ease by this reformation, be he merchant or whosoever; let it be no bank or common stock, but every man be master of his own money; not that I altogether mislike banks, but they will hardly be brooked in regard of certain suspicions. Let the state be answered[n] some small matter for the license, and the rest left to the lender; for if the abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the lender; for he for example

[m] *to take*] i. e. from taking. Lat. *mulctae omni renunciet.*

[n] *be answered*] i. e. be paid. Lat. *exiguam aliquam summam percipiat.* Conf. 'But in this match he was soon cooled, when he heard from his ambassadors that this young Queen had had a goodly jointure in the realm of Naples, well answered during the time of her uncle Frederick, . . . but since the time that the kingdom was in Ferdinando's hands, all was assigned to the army and garrisons there; and she received only a pension or exhibition out of his coffers.' History of King Henry VII, Works, vi. 227-8.

that took before ten or nine in the hundred, will sooner descend to eight in the hundred than give over his trade of usury, and go from certain gains to gains of hazard. Let these licensed lenders be in number indefinite, but restrained to certain principal cities and towns of merchandising; for then they will be hardly able to colour other men's moneys° in the country: so as the licence of nine will not suck away the current rate of five; for no man will send his moneys far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected that this doth in a sort authorize usury, which before was in some places but permissive; the answer is, that it is better to mitigate usury by declaration than to suffer it to rage by connivance.

Notes and Illustrations.

The Essay of Usury, first published in the edition of 1625, is identical in the main with an earlier paper on 'Usury and the Use thereof' sent by Bacon to Sir Edward Conway, to be shown to the King, April 2, 1623. Letters and Life vii. 414 &c. At the time when this paper was written, the practice of usury was regulated by the revived statute of 37 Henry VIII, cap. 9, fixing 10 per cent. as the maximum rate of lawful interest. This statute had been repealed by 5 & 6 Edward VI, cap. 20, declaring that 'usury is by the word of God utterly prohibited as a vice most odious and detestable,' and enacting accordingly that 'no person shall lend or forbear any sum of money for any manner of usury or increase to be received or hoped for above the sum lent.' But this was in turn repealed by 13 Elizabeth, cap. 8, and the former statute was revived, the reason alleged being that the statute of Edward VI 'has not done so much good as it was hoped it should, but rather the said vice of usury &c. hath much more exceedingly abounded, to the utter undoing of many gentlemen, merchants, occupiers and others.' Usury, however, was still declared to be

° *to colour other men's moneys*] i.e. to lend other men's money under pretence that it is their own. Lat. *opportunitatem non habebunt pecunias aliorum pro suis commodandi.* Conf. 2 and 3 Edward VI, cap. xxii, an Act forbidding privileged natives to allow foreigners to import goods under their names, so as to escape customs' duties, headed—'An Act concerning colouring of customs in other men's names, to the deceit of the King.'

a sinful and detestable thing, and the sum usuriously received was made liable to forfeiture to the crown—a penalty not consistent with the enabling clauses of the statute, and not enforced in practice. By 39 Elizabeth, cap. 18, the statute of 13 Elizabeth is said to be 'by proof and experience found to be very necessary and profitable' and it is accordingly made perpetual.

But between the date of Bacon's first papers on usury, and that of his Essay, there had been further legislation on the subject. By 21 James, cap. 17, the permissible rate of interest was reduced from 10 to 8 per cent. The preamble declares that 'there is a very great abatement in the value of land, and other the merchandize, wares, and commodities of this kingdom . . . at home and in foreign parts,' and that consequently gentry, merchants, farmers and tradesmen, who have contracted debts at the old rate, cannot now pay their debts. The effect of this statute was to bring the legal rate of interest into conformity with the current rate, there being, as Thomas Mun, writing at about this date, says—'plenty of men ready to lend more than merchants wish to borrow' (England's Treasure by Foreign Trade, cap. 15). This was the state of things when Bacon's elaborate scheme was given to the world. It is clear, from both his treatises, and from other passages in his works, that he looked with disapproval on usury, i. e. on receiving any interest for a loan. As the world went, it must be suffered, but it was at best a *concessum propter duritiem cordis*, a thing to be tolerated and to be condemned. He remarks, e. g. in the Essay of Riches, that 'usury is the certainest means of gain though one of the worst.' In his Life of Henry VII (Works, vi. 87), he says, 'there were also made good and politic laws that Parliament against usury, which is the bastard use of money.' The law referred to—3 Henry VII, cap. 6—declares that 'all unlawful chevisance and usury shall be extirpate; all brokers of such bargains shall be set in the pillory, put to open shame, be half a year imprisoned, and pay twenty pounds.' This, then, was the course of which Bacon in his heart approved, but facts were too hard for him, and he found himself driven to a compromise with the unclean thing. He proposes accordingly to speak usefully about it; and this he does by setting out first its incommodities, and then its commodities. He gives both these contradictory lists not as containing the opinions of other people, but as containing his own opinions, and when he proceeds to speak of the Reformation and Reglement of Usury, he treats both lists as to be taken equally into account. The middle course—the establishment of two rates of usury—by which he attempts to reconcile the two sets of contradictory propositions which he has laid down as alike true, does not appear to have carried conviction to the King's mind or to have been put in practice at any time. The details in the early paper,

omitted in the Essay, explain more fully how the scheme was intended to work. If a lender attempted to call in his money, through dissatisfaction at the lower rate to which Bacon proposed to limit him, the Courts of Equity were to be warranted and required to interpose and to give the debtors a favourable and convenient day for repaying the loans which were, meanwhile, to stand at the new rates. That the author of this scheme belonged to the debtor and not to the creditor class appears distinctly enough.

There are one or two other minor differences worth noting between the paper and the Essay. We read at the end of the first section of the Essay, 'and warily to provide that while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.' The sense of these words is not clear. They seem to point to a scheme to which no distinct after reference is made. The corresponding passage in the earlier paper runs thus: 'And withal it is fit to see how we can make a bridge from the present practice to the reformation; lest, while we make forth towards that which is better, we meet with that which is worse.' The 'bridge' is clearly the suggested order to the Courts of Equity to forbid lenders from calling in their money, until a day came at which it was convenient to their debtors to repay it; and of this, as we have said, there is no mention made in the Essay.

Again, in the paper, Bacon lays down a caution: 'Let there be no bank or common stock, but every man be master of his own money: not that I dislike banks, but they will not be brooked in regard of certain suspicions.' The Essay changes the definite statement that Bacon, in spite of his prohibition of banks, does not dislike them, into the indefinite 'not that I altogether mislike banks,' implying that Bacon shared the 'certain suspicions' to some extent which he leaves unstated and unexplained. The banking system was on its trial in Bacon's day, and he accordingly passes sentence upon it in terms so guarded that his credit would be safe, whatever the event might prove to be. The probable ground for his suspicions or half-mislikes will be seen in Gerard Malynes' Lex Mercatoria, published in 1622. In Part iii. cap. 9 Malynes describes what he terms the feats of bankers, the absolute power which they possess of fixing the rate of exchange, and the mysterious arts by which they conjure money out of one country into another, to their own profit and to the injury of all besides.

Suspicions of this kind were shared by statesmen of Bacon's time as well as by Bacon himself. We find continual alarms about money leaving the country and continual attempts by statute and otherwise to prevent or check the efflux. These attempts Bacon unquestionably approved. Conf. e.g. Letters and Life, vi. 374 and 449–50. Mr. Spedding, his ready and well-proved apologist, makes much of the

fact that he had got so far as to allow that usury must be permitted. (Letters and Life, vii. 414.) But the legislature, as we have seen, had got thus far half a century earlier. It may perhaps be thought that Essays which are intended to 'last as long as books last' ought at least to come up to and to contain the most advanced ideas of the age at which they were written. This, however, the Essay on Usury certainly does not. It was given to the world at about the time at which Mun's book on England's Treasure by Foreign Trade was written, and a comparison of the two performances is entirely in Mun's favour. What Bacon pretends to do, Mun actually does. He 'culls out' the good of Usury, not by assuming the equal truth of a series of contradictory propositions and gravely balancing them against each other. His more effective method is to sweep away the nonsense as nonsensical, and to lay down the truth as true, In cap. 15 he shows conclusively that usury so called is not hurtful to trade, the fact being that the trader's profits and the rates which the usurer can obtain, rise and fall together, and that usury is a help to traders. He sees as Bacon does that, in a certain sense, usury makes fewer merchants, or, as he puts it, that some men when they are grown rich give over trading and put out their money to use, but he does not infer from this that the money 'lies still.' It is, he says, 'still traded'—in the hand, of course, of the trader to whom it has been lent (cap. 15). 'Not that I altogether mislike banks,' says Bacon. Mun does not mislike them at all, and he states clearly (cap. 14) what he thinks about them and why. Mun has been so generally and so unjustly condemned as the author of the Mercantile System of Political Economy, that I have the more pleasure in giving instances of the sound good sense which his book actually contains. Of the principle of the 'Mercantile System' he does speak with approval, but it is only a small part of his book which is tainted with it, and he keeps wholly clear of much deduced nonsense which is to be found elsewhere in the theory and practice of his day.

P. 287, l. 1. *Many have made* &c.] Several of these witty invectives are endorsed by Bacon in Essay 34, Of Riches.

l. 5. *Virgil*] Georg. iv. 168.

l. 8. *in sudore*] Genesis iii. 19.

l. 10. *orange-tawny bonnets*] The Jews in Europe during the middle ages were usually compelled to wear a distinguishing dress. This was commonly of yellow: it was sometimes a yellow cap, sometimes a yellow badge on the breast. Ducange, Glossarium, *sub voce* Judaei, quotes from the Statuta Massiliensia: 'Statuimus quod omnes Judaei, a septem annis supra, portent Calotam (i. e. *une calotte*) croceam; vel, si noluerint, portent in pectore unam rotam latam et magnam ad modum palmae hominis.' In the Latin text of the Statute, as given in the Histoire des actes &c. de la municipalité

de Marseille, par L. Mery et F. Guidin (8 vols. 8vo. Marseille et Aix, 1842–1873), there is no mention of the yellow cap, but it appears in the editors' French translation or abridgement: 'Dès l'âge de sept ans les juifs devraient porter une calotte jaune (CROCEA, safranée) ou à défaut une marque sur la poitrine.' Tome iv. pp. 167 and 227. The statutes given in this history date mainly from 1257, soon after the submission of Marseilles to Charles of Anjou, but they contain the substance of much earlier municipal legislation. I am indebted to the late Principal of Brasenose College for the reference to the Histoire des Actes.

Ducange, *sub voce*, gives numerous other instances to a like effect, and probably of about the same date. We find, e.g. an ordinance of St. Louis (1269) that Jews of both sexes were to wear 'unam rotam de feutro seu panno croceo in superiori veste consutam ante pectus.' In the council of Vienna (1267) by canon 15, 'Pileum cornutum deferre jubentur.'

In England a like order was made in Edward the First's reign: 'E ꝑ (i.e. ke, que) checun Geu pus kil avra passee set anz, porte enseine en son soverain garnement, cest assav^{r} en forme de deus tables joyntes de feutre jaune.' Vide Les Estatutz de la Jeuerie, as printed in the Statutes of the Realm, vol. i. p. 221 a (fol. ed. of 1810). Edward, in a subsequent order, gives directions for the carrying out of this statute: 'Cum nuper . . . provideri fecerimus quod universi et singuli Judaei &c. &c. . . . et quod unusquisque ipsorum, postquam aetatem septem annorum compleverit, in superiori vestimento suo quoddam signum deferat ad modum duarum tabularum de feltro croceo,' &c. Rymer, Foedera (ed. 1816), tom. i. pars ii. p. 543, in Ann. Dom. 1277.

The date and reign of this statute have been set down as uncertain. They seem, however, to be fixed approximately by the passage quoted from Rymer, and exactly by Matthew of Westminster, Chron. in ann. 1275.

Conf. also 'Gli Hebrei . . . nella Soria, . . . vestono alla Soriana, un' habito conforme in tutto à quello de' Turchi: se non che portano in capo un dulipante (?) di vélo, al quanto giallo, come anchora fanno gli Hebrei Levantini, che sono in Venetia, dove si trova anchora un altro grosso numero . . . d' Hebrei. Questi . . . nel vestire si conformano col popolo di Venetia ed imitano gli altri Mercanti ed Artegiani di questa Città . . . Ma nondimeno, accioche sieno conosciuti da gli altri, portano per comandamento publico la berretta gialla' &c. Vecellio, Degli habiti antichi et moderni (ed. 1590), p. 464.

P. 288, l. 1. *it is against nature*] Conf. *Εὐλογώτατα μισεῖται ἡ ὀβολοστατικὴ (χρηματιστικὴ) διὰ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ νομίσματος εἶναι τὴν κτῆσιν καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ὅπερ ἐπορίσθη. Μεταβολῆς γὰρ ἐγένετο χάριν, ὁ δὲ τόκος αὐτὸ ποιεῖ πλέον. Ὅθεν καὶ τοὔνομα τοῦτ' εἴληφεν· ὅμοια γὰρ τὰ τικτόμενα τοῖς γεννῶσιν αὐτά*

ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ τόκος γίνεται νόμισμα νομίσματος· ὥστε καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ φύσιν οὗτος τῶν χρηματισμῶν ἐστίν. Arist. Pol. i. 10. §§ 4, 5. 'He puts his money to the unnatural act of generation, and his scrivener is the supervisor bawd to it.' Overbury, Characters.—A devilish usurer.

'When did friendship take
A breed of barren metal of his friend.'

Merchant of Venice, act i. sc. 3.

l. 15. *money would not lie still*] The assumption here is that money lent 'lies still' in the borrower's hands, since the original owner and lender is not himself employing it directly upon merchandising.

P. 289, l. 1. *at the end of the game* &c.] There is a var. lec. here—*gaine* for *game*—either from an error of the press, or from an indistinctness of the manuscript. The Latin gives *eveniet in fine ludi, prout fit saepe in alea, ut maxima pars pecuniae promo cedat.* The usurer is thus compared to the player who keeps the bank at a game of hazard, and who commonly has the chances very much in his favour.

P. 290, l. 10. *to Utopia*] This is probably a reference to Sir Thomas More's Utopia, an imaginary country in which there could be no usury, since there was no private property. 'For what justice is this, that a ryche goldesmythe, or an usurer . . . should have a pleasaunt and a welthie living, either by idlenes or by unnecessary busines.' Utopia, bk. ii. cap. 9 (Robynson's Trans.). There is a like reference in Ralegh, who says of the Lacedaemonians: 'Briefly they lived Utopian-like.' Hist. of the World, iii. chap. 8. sec. 1.

P. 291, l. 5. *be reduced to five in the hundred*] The proposed change would have been to Bacon's advantage as a debtor. In an account of his payments, in 1618, we find: 'Paid Mr. Hallett for the interest of 100lb. for 6 months 5lb. and to his man 10*s.*, in all 5*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*' 'Paid Mr. Hill, the Scrivener, for the interest of 200lb. for six months, to the use of Mr. Henry Goldsmith and for the forbearance 11*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*' Several other entries follow, some for large sums, all showing that 10 per cent. was the minimum rate at which Bacon's debts had been incurred. Letters and Life, vi. p. 332 *et seqq.*

l. 10. *raise the price of land*] Land, in the first quarter of the 17th century, was to be had at less than the sixteen years' purchase to which Bacon proposes to raise it. Conf. 'Corn and cattle were never at so low a rate since I can remember: wheat at 2*s.* a bushel, barley at 7*s.* a quarter, *et sic de caeteris*. . . . So that land falls everywhere, and if you have money, you may buy good land at thirteen or fourteen years' purchase.' Chamberlain to Carleton, Nov. 9, 1620.

Bacon's remedy for this is not approved by his clear-sighted contemporary, Mun. There is only one way, Mun says, by which the improvement can be brought about. When the produce of land commands higher prices, the land will bear a higher rent and its

value will, of course, rise.' England's Treasure by Foreign Trade, cap. 5.

l. 23. *no bank*].

l. 26. *certain suspicions*].

The word bank is used in so many senses, the business of banking was so mixed up with other forms of business, and Bacon's language is so vague and uncertain that we cannot be sure what suspicions he is referring to. Probably they are those expressed by Gerard Malynes in his 'Lex Mercatoria' (1622). Part i. cap. 20 is a long attack on Banks and Bankers. Malynes describes how Bankers have large sums of other people's money deposited with them, and how they contrive to retain it and to use it, making in effect merely fictitious repayments by book transfers: 'So that they once being possessed of moneys, they will hardly be dispossessed, and their paiements are in effect all by assignation and imaginarie.' Thus furnished, they command the money market, lend at exorbitant interest, 'engross divers commodities, and carry a predominance in ruling the course of exchanges for all places where it pleaseth them.'

In part iii. cap. 9 he describes more fully and fancifully the 'feats of Bankers' performed by exchanges, 'some for the Banker's private gain and benefit;' others 'for the advancing of one commonwealth above all other commonweales;' and lastly 'for the destruction of a commonwealth.'

Also in part i. cap. 20 Malynes mentions that banks in Spain had been unable to meet their engagements, and had been allowed under Philip II to defer payments. Hence banks had fallen into disrepute in Spain.

Mun's book, cap. 14, is a reply to this stuff. Mun defends bankers. They are, he allows, always ready to receive such sums of money as are put into their hands. 'It is likewise true,' he adds, 'that the Bankers do repay all men with their own, and yet reserve good gain to themselves, which they do as well deserve . . . as those Factors do which buy or sell for Merchants by Commission. And is not this likewise both just and very common?'

It thus appears that, in the first quarter of the 17th century, the functions of the banker were in the main such as they are now.

For another sense of bank = mont de piété, *v. s.* note on p. 288. The term is used also as = a hoard of money. John Blount, e. g., writing to secretary Cecil, mentions a report that Cecil had appointed a late merchant's factor to keep a bank for him in Italy, fearing to have so much money in England. State Papers, Domestic Series, March 27, 1602. And, 'These little sands and grains of gold and silver (as it seemeth) holp not a little to make up the great heap and bank.' Works, vi. 220.

XLII.

OF YOUTH AND AGE.

A MAN that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time; but that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second: for there is a youth in thoughts as well as in ages; and yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of old, and imaginations stream into their minds better, and as it were more divinely. Natures that have much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years: as it was with Julius Caesar and Septimius Severus; of the latter of whom it is said, *Juventutem egit erroribus, imo furoribus plenam;* and yet he was the ablest emperor, almost, of all the list; but reposed natures may do well in youth, as it is seen in Augustus Caesar, Cosmus duke of Florence, Gaston de Foix, and others. On the other side, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition for business. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge, fitter for execution than for counsel, and fitter for new projects than for settled business; for the experience of age[a], in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them; but in new things abuseth[b] them. The errors of young men are the ruin of business; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done or sooner.

Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold; stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end without consideration of the means

[a] *of age*] i.e. of old men, as the words which follow require. Lat. *senum*. For the looseness of the grammar, conf. 'In suits of favour, the first coming ought to take little place.' Essay 49. Where the sentence continues as if first comer and not first coming (*prima petitionis oblatio*) had been written in the previous clause.

[b] *abuseth*] i. e. deceives or misleads. Lat. *eos seducit*. Conf. 'It was certified unto me that it was his own desire to resign: wherein if I was abused, I will restore him.' Letters and Life, vi. 292.

and degrees; pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly[c]; care not to innovate[d], which draws unknown inconveniences; use extreme remedies at first; and, that which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them, like an unready horse[e], that will neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success. Certainly it is good to compound employments of both; for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both; and good for succession, that young men may be learners while men in age are actors; and lastly, good for externe accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth: but for the moral part, perhaps youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain rabbin, upon the text, *Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams*, inferreth that young men are admitted nearer to God than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream; and certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world the more it intoxicateth: and age doth profit[f] rather in the powers of understanding than in the virtues of the will and affections. There be some have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes: these are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned: such as was Hermogenes the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtile,

[c] *absurdly*] This adverb qualifies the earlier verb 'pursue.' Lat. *praecepta quaedam absurde persequuntur, in quae casu inciderunt.* The French gives *lesquels ils ont à l'adventure absurdement rencontré*—a mistake due to the order of the words in the text rather than to any fault on the translator's part.

[d] *care not to innovate*, &c.] This clause is omitted in the Latin. It must mean—are given to innovating carelessly, a habit which, &c.

[e] *like an unready horse*] Lat. *similes equis male domitis.*

[f] *doth profit*] i. e. doth gain or make progress. Lat. *proficit.*

who afterwards waxed stupid: a second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions which have better grace in youth than in age; such as is a fluent and luxuriant speech, which becomes youth well but not age: so Tully saith of Hortensius, *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat:* the third is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years[g] can uphold; as was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith in effect, *Ultima primis cedebant.*

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 299. *Youth and Age*] In the Historia Vitae et Mortis (published 1623), Bacon sums up somewhat more favourably to youth, bringing out more fully the better moral qualities of young men, and giving less prominence to the improved judgment and intellectual capacity of the old. Works, ii. 212.

l. 10. *Septimius Severus*] The words are—'Juventam plenam furorum, nonnunquam et criminum habuit.' Spartianus, Life of Severus, cap. ii. But the general testimony of Spartianus as to the conduct of Severus in youth is to the contrary effect. It was in the later career of Severus rather than in his youth that he gave proof of a disordered mind. Cap. xii.

l. 14. *Cosmus*] or Cosimo, of the younger branch of the Medici, was appointed Duke of Florence in 1537, at the age of seventeen, on the failure of the elder branch of the family after the murder of the previous Duke Alessandro. During a long tenure of office, he administered the affairs of Florence with marked ability and success.

l. 15. *Gaston de Foix*] Bacon probably refers to Gaston III, Count de Foix, and Viscount de Béarn. He was born in 1331, and at the age of fourteen served with distinction in military and then in civil business. Froissart, who knew him in his later life, describes him as a pattern of chivalry. Chron. vol. ii. caps. 26 and 80 (Berner's trans.).

[g] *tract of years*] i. e. length of years. The Latin gives, more clearly, *aetas provectior.* Conf. 'The wisdom which is learned by tract of time findeth the laws, that have been in former ages established, needful in later to be abrogated.' Hooker, Eccl. Pol. Bk. iv. chap. 14. sec. 1. 'Then Fabius did straight set forth unto Hannibal, not as minded to fight with him, but fully resolved to wear out his strength and power by delays and tract of time,' Plutarch, Lives, p. 181.

Another Gaston de Foix, Duke de Nemours, a nephew of Lewis XII of France, may equally be described as having 'done well in youth,' though hardly as of 'a reposed nature.' He commanded the French troops in Italy, and was killed at the battle of Ravenna in 1512. 'En peu de temps il fut faict capitaine general devant que d'avoir quasi faict l'apprentissage de soldat. . . . Bref sembloit estre une chose non jamais veue ny ouye que en si grande jeunesse, qui n'estoit que de vingtquatre ans ou environ, il eut executé de si haults faicts d'armes.' Thevet, Vie des hommes illustres, vol. ii. p. 322 B (Paris, 1584).

Bayle speaks of him as—'Ce foudre de guerre, qui auroit aparemment surpassé les deux Scipions s'il avoit vêcu autant qu'eux.' Dict. Hist. et Crit. p. 1777 (3rd edition). Vide also Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia, vol. v. 306, 307.

l. 18. *fitter for execution* &c.] Conf. 'To speak truly, youth is made (as it were) to follow and obey, but age to guide and command: and that City or State is preserved, wherein the sage counsels of the Elders, and the martiall prowesse of the younger, beare sway together.' Plutarch, Morals, p. 322.

Gaisford, in the Paroemiographi Graeci (e Cod. Bodleiano, 690), gives the proverb *Νέοις μὲν ἔργα, βουλὰς δὲ γεραιτέροις*, and adds in a note (*inter alia*) the well-known line ascribed to Hesiod: *Ἔργα νέων, βουλαὶ δὲ μέσων, εὐχαὶ δὲ γερόντων.*

P. 300, l. 9. *Certainly it is good* &c.] This is Plutarch's advice. Vide Morals, p. 323. Bacon presses it in his letter of advice to Sir George Villiers; Letters and Life, vi. p. 40.

l. 17. *A certain rabbin*] This is Abravanel. His words are: 'Then because prophecy consists of two degrees, a prophetic dream and a prophetic vision (as it is said in the Law, I, the Lord, will make myself known unto him in a vision and will speak unto him in a dream), in accordance with this it is here said, the old men shall be deemed worthy to dream dreams and the young men to see visions; because the strength of the old men is diminished, their sight is dim, therefore they shall dream; and the young men, because they are full of vigour and their powers of sight stronger, therefore they shall see visions.' Vide Abravanel, on the later prophets (1520); Joel ii. 28 in the Authorized version; iii. 1 in Abravanel's Hebrew Text.

I am indebted to Dr. Ginsburg for this note.

l. 27. *Hermogenes*] *Ἑρμογένης δέ, ὃν Ταρσοὶ ἤνεγκαν, πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονώς, ἐφ' οὗτω μέγα προῦβη τῆς τῶν σοφιστῶν δόξης ὡς καὶ Μάρκῳ βασιλεῖ παρασχεῖν ἔρωτα ἀκροάσεως. . . . Ἐς δὲ ἄνδρας ἥκων, ἀφῃρέθη τὴν ἕξιν ὑπ' οὐδεμιᾶς φανερᾶς νόσου. ὅθεν ἀστεῖσμοῦ λόγον παρέδωκε τοῖς βασκάνοις. ἔφασαν γὰρ τοὺς λόγους ἀτεχνῶς καθ' Ὅμηρον πτερόεντας εἶναι. ἀποβεβληκέναι γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὸν Ἑρμογένην, καθάπερ πτερά. . . . Ἐτελεύτα μὲν οὖν ἐν βαθεῖ γήρᾳ,*

εἷς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν νομιζόμενος. κατεφρονήθη γάρ, ἀπολιπούσης αὐτὸν τῆς τέχνης. Philostratus de Vitis Sophist. *sub tit.* Hermogenes.

Suidas, who follows Philostratus word for word in some parts, tells the story more fully, and, as regards the age at which he gained distinction, more credibly: *Ἑρμογένης, Ταρσεύς, ὁ ἐπίκλην ξυστήρ, σοφιστής· . . . γέγονε δὲ ἐπὶ Μάρκου τοῦ βασιλέως, εὐφυέστατος, καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ ἐνδεεστέρας ὑπαρχούσης, μᾶλλον ἡ φρόνησις ὑπερεῖχεν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς μακρὸν ταύτης ἀπήλαυσε· γενόμενος γὰρ περὶ τὰ εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρα ἔτη ἐξέστη τῶν φρενῶν, καὶ ἦν ἀλλοῖος αὐτοῦ, μηδεμιᾶς ἀφορμῆς γενομένης ἢ ἀρρωστίας τοῦ σώματος . . . . περὶ τὸν ιή* (18) *ἢ κ* (20) *χρόνον γενόμενος γράφει ταῦτα τὰ βιβλία τὰ γέμοντα θαυμάτων.* The list follows. Suidas, Lexicon, *sub voce.*

P. 301, l. 3. *a fluent and luxurious speech*] Conf. 'Sed si quaerimus cur adolescens magis floruerit dicendo quam senior Hortensius, causas reperiemus verissimas duas. Primùm quod genus erat orationis Asiaticum, adolescentiae magis concessum quam senectuti. . . . Itaque Hortensius . . . clamores faciebat adolescens . . . Etsi enim genus illud dicendi auctoritatis habebat parum, tamen aptum esse aetati videbatur. . . . Sed quum jam honores et illa senior auctoritas gravius quiddam requireret, remanebat idem nec decebat idem.' Cic. Brutus, c. 95. 'Ipsum etiam eloquentiae genus alios aliud decet: nam neque tam plenum et erectum et audax et praecultum senibus convenerit, quam pressum et mite et limatum, et quale intelligi vult Cicero, quum dicit orationem suam coepisse *canescere:* sic vestibus quoque non purpura coccoque fulgentibus illa aetas satis apta sit. In juvenibus etiam uberiora paulo, et paene periclitantia feruntur; at in iisdem siccum et sollicitum et contractum dicendi propositum, plerumque affectatione ipsa severitatis invisum est.' Quintilian, Instit. Orat. xi. 1. 31.

l. 8. *Scipio Africanus*] Livy's statement does not bear out the use which Bacon makes of it. He records how Scipio, towards the close of his life, when worried by envious and captious accusations, refused to put himself on his defence. 'Major animus et natura erat ac majori fortunae assuetus quam ut reus esse sciret, et submittere se in humilitatem causam dicentium.' This defiant attitude he maintained, and his accusers could get no hearing; but 'silentium deinde de Africano fuit. Vitam Literni egit sine desiderio urbis . . . Vir memorabilis: bellicis tamen quam pacis artibus memorabilior prima pars vitae quam posterior fuit; quia in juventa bella assidue gesta; cum senecta res quoque defloruere nec praebita est materia ingenio.' Bk. xxxviii. 52 and 53.

l. 9. *Ultima primis* &c.] From Ovid. Her. ix. 23.

XLIII.

OF BEAUTY.

VIRTUE[a] is like a rich stone, best plain set; and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features; and that hath rather dignity of presence than beauty of aspect; neither is it almost seen[b] that very beautiful persons are otherwise of great virtue; as if nature were rather busy not to err than in labour to produce excellency; and therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study rather behaviour than virtue. But this holds not always: for Augustus Caesar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Bel of France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael the Sophy of Persia, were all high and great spirits, and yet the most beautiful men of their times. In beauty, that of favour[c] is more than that of colour; and that of decent and gracious motion more than that of favour. That is the best part of beauty which a picture cannot express; no, nor the first sight of the life. There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether Apelles or Albert Durer were the more trifler; whereof the one

[a] *Virtue*] i. e. excellence of any kind. The examples given below of the union of beauty and virtue show clearly that it cannot be of moral virtue that Bacon is speaking. So, in Essay 14: 'Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous, but less innocent than their descendants.'

[b] *neither is it almost seen*] Lat. *neque fere reperies.*

[c] *favour*] i. e. the features or expression of the countenance. Conf. 'He (Alcibiades) disdained to learn to play on the flute or recorder: saying that it was no gentlemanly quality. For, said he, to play on the violl with a stick doth not alter man's favour nor disgraceth any gentleman: but otherwise to play on the flute, his countenance altereth and changeth so oft that his familiar friends can scant know him.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 198. And, 'Painters or drawers of pictures, which make no account of other parts of the body, do take the resemblances of the face and favour of the countenance, in the which consisteth the judgment of their manners and disposition.' p. 673. Conf. also Blundevill, Of Counsells (1570), under the heading Qualities of body—'countenance, which some call favour or feawter of the face.' The book is not paged.

would make a personage by geometrical proportions: the other, by taking the best parts out of divers faces to make one excellent. Such personages, I think, would please nobody but the painter that made them: not but I think[d] a painter may make a better face than ever was; but he must do it by a kind of felicity (as a musician that maketh an excellent air in music), and not by rule. A man shall see faces that, if you exámine them part by part, you shall find never a good; and yet altogether do well. If it be true that the principal part of beauty is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel though persons in years seem many times more amiable; *Pulchrorum autumnus pulcher;* for no youth can be comely but by pardon, and considering the youth as to make up the comeliness. Beauty is as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt and cannot last; and, for the most part, it makes a dissolute youth and an age a little out of countenance[e]; but yet certainly again, if it light well it maketh virtues shine, and vices blush[f].

Notes and Illustrations.

The word 'Beauty' is used in this Essay in several different senses. It stands first as exquisiteness of face or form; it is presently said rather to consist in decent and gracious motion than in anything else. So understood, it is set down as a special attribute of the old rather than of the young, as proper to the autumn of life, and as

[d] *not but I think*] i. e. not but that. Lat. *non quin existimem.*

[e] *out of countenance*] i. e. dissatisfied with itself. Conf. 'Wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself.' Essay 53. The Latin *sero poenitentem* is stronger than the text warrants.

[f] *if it light well* &c.) How, if it light well, it makes virtues shine, is clear enough; how it makes vices blush is not so clear. The passage has been explained as meaning that where beauty and virtues are combined, they make vices in others appear so much the more shameful and deformed by contrast with the two-fold excellence of the opposite pattern. I prefer to take it that the words 'if it light well' apply only to the clause which immediately follows; and that the assertion that beauty makes vices blush stands independently, and means that beauty is in the nature of a disgrace to the vicious. This is borne out by the antitheta—'Quod vestis lauta deformi, hoc forma improbo.' Works, i. 689.

hardly indeed to be attributed to the young at all. Then, in the next sentence, after this assertion of its essentially enduring character, it is said to be as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt and cannot last.

P. 304, l. 2. *comely, though not* &c.] This and much of the rest seems to be taken from a passage in the De Officiis, a good deal confused in the rendering. Cicero says, very clearly, 'Cum autem pulchritudinis duo genera sint, quorum in altero venustas sit, in altero dignitas; venustatem muliebrem ducere debemus: dignitatem virilem. . . . Formae autem dignitas coloris bonitate tuenda est: color exercitationibus corporis. . . . Cavendum est autem, ne aut tarditatibus utamur in gressu mollioribus, ut pomparum ferculis similes esse videamur: aut in festinationibus suscipiamus nimias celeritates; quae cum fiunt, anhelitus movetur, vultus mutantur, ora torquentur.' De Officiis, bk. i. cap. 36.

l. 9. *Augustus Caesar*] 'Forma fuit eximia, et per omnes aetatis gradus venustissima.' Suetonius, Augustus, cap. 79.

l. 10. *Titus Vespasianus*] 'In puero statim corporis animique dotes exsplenduerunt, magisque ac magis deinceps per aetatis gradus, forma egregia, et cui non minus auctoritatis inesset quam gratiae.' Suetonius, Vespasianus, cap. 3.

l. 11. *Alcibiades*] 'Now for Alcibiades' beauty, . . . he was wonderfull faire, being a child, a boy, and a man, and that at all times, which made him marvellous amiable and beloved of every man.' Plutarch's Lives, p. 197.

l. 12. *Ismael*] Conf. 'Ce jeune prince (Hismael Sophi) trouva de l'accueil inopiné par le moyen d'un prestre Armenien, qui, se meslant d'astrologiser judiciarement, apres avoir contemplé la face et physionomie de ce jeune Prince, trouva l'esperance de tant de graces et perfections si bien asseurée par les traits de son visage et composition de son corps, qu'il print toutes les peynes soin et solicitude qu'il peut à l'eslever.' Thevet, Vie des hommes illustres, vol. ii. p. 657 B. (Paris, 1584).

l. 19. *Apelles*] The story referred to is told not of Apelles but of Zeuxis. Conf. 'So curious and exquisite he (Zeuxis) was, that when he should make a table with a picture for the Agrigentines . . . he would needs see all the maidens of the citie, naked: and from all that companie he chose five of the fairest to take out, as from several patterns, whatsoever he liked best in any of them; and of all the lovely parts of those five to make one bodie of incomparable beautie.' Pliny, N. H. bk. xxxv. cap. 9. Conf. also, Cicero, de Inventione, bk. ii. cap. 1, where a like story is told, at greater length, about a picture painted by Zeuxis for the inhabitants of Crotona.

l. 20. *Albert Durer*] Gives at great length and illustrates in detail the proportional measurements which the various parts of the human

body ought to bear to one another. The Latinized version of his book bears title—De Symmetria partium in rectis formis humanorum corporum.

P. 305, l. 12. *Pulchrorum autumnus pulcher*] The Latin version gives the adage as *secundùm illud Euripidis.* It is misquoted, perhaps from Erasmi Adagia, where the correct reading is 'pulchrorum *etiam* autumnus pulcher est.'

Erasmus comments as follows: 'Metaphora proverbialis, nata ex Archelai apophthegmate, quod ab eo dictum Plutarchus refert in Euripidem, qui jam pubescentem atque exoletum Agathonem in convivio suaviabatur.'

The adage occurs in three passages of Plutarch.

(1) In the Life of Alcibiades, so mistranslated by North as to bear out the use which Bacon makes of it: 'Now for Alcibiades' beauty, it made no matter if we spake not of it, yet I will a litle touch it by the way: for he was wonderfull faire, being a child, a boy, and a man, and that at all times which made him marvellous amiable and beloved of every man. For where Euripides saith, that of all the faire times of the year, the Autumne or latter season is the fairest: that commonly falleth out not true. And yet it proved true in Alcibiades, though in few other.' Lives, p. 197. The original gives: Οὐ γὰρ (ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἔλεγε) πάντων τῶν καλῶν καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον καλόν ἐστιν.

It occurs again in the Ἐρωτικός· Τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐριπίδου ῥηθέντα ἐστι κομψά· ἔφη γὰρ, Ἀγάθωνα τὸν καλὸν ἤδη γενειῶντα περιβάλλων καὶ κατασπαζόμενος, ὅτι τῶν καλῶν καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον καλόν.

And in the Ἀποφθέγματα βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγῶν, *sub voce* Ἀρχελάου· Τοῦ δὲ Εὐριπίδου τὸν καλὸν Ἀγάθωνα περιλαμβάνοντος ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ καὶ καταφιλοῦντος ἤδη γενειῶντα, πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπε, Μὴ θαυμάσητε, τῶν γὰρ καλῶν καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον καλόν ἐστιν.

Aelian, Var. Hist. xiii. cap. 4, telling the same story, ascribes the adage to Euripides, and adds that he was drunk at the time. This may pass as an excuse or as an aggravation.

It is clear on the whole case, that Bacon's assertion of the superior beauty of the old must be defended on some other authority than that which he here forces into use. He gives the adage correctly in his collection of Apophthegms; Works, vii. p. 145.

XLIV.

OF DEFORMITY.

DEFORMED persons are commonly even with nature; for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature, being for the most part (as the Scripture saith), *void of natural affection;* and so they have their revenge of nature. Certainly there is a consent between the body and the mind, and where nature erreth in the one, she ventureth[a] in the other: *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero:* but because there is in man an election touching the frame of his mind, and a necessity in the frame of his body, the stars of natural inclination are sometimes obscured by the sun of discipline and virtue; therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a sign which is more deceivable[b], but as a cause which seldom faileth of the effect. Whosoever hath anything fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn; therefore all deformed persons are extreme bold; first, as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn, but in process of time by a general habit. Also it stirreth in them industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the weakness of others that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their superiors it quencheth jealousy towards them, as persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleep, as never believing they should be in possibility of advancement till they see them in possession: so that upon the matter[c], in

[a] *she ventureth*] i. e. she runs risk of failure.

[b] *is more deceivable*] i. e. is apt to be deceptive. Lat. *quod quandoque fallit.* Conf. 'Whose duty is deceivable and false.' Richard II, act ii. sc. 3. For this use of a comparative form where no comparison is intended, conf. note on Essay 47, p. 331.

[c] *upon the matter*] i. e. in strict fact. Lat. *si rem diligenter introspicias.* Conf. 'My Lord Chief Justice shewed us passages of Suarez and others, whereby to prove that by the general Bulls of Coena Domini and others, you were upon the matter excommunicate.' Letters and Life, v. 119. And, in Bacon's answer to the 14th article of charge

a great wit[d], deformity is an advantage to rising. Kings in ancient times (and at this present in some countries) were wont to put great trust in eunuchs, because they that are envious towards all are more obnoxious[e] and officious[f] towards one; but yet their trust towards them hath rather been as to good spials[g] and good whisperers than good magistrates and officers: and much like is the reason of deformed persons[h]. Still the ground is[i], they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves from scorn: which must be either by virtue or malice; and, therefore, let it not be marvelled if sometimes they prove excellent persons; as was Agesilaüs, Zanger the son of Solyman, Aesop, Gasca president of Peru; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them, with others.

Notes and Illustrations.

Dr. Abbott introduces this Essay with the following quotation and remarks:—'Chamberlain, in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, written Dec. 17, 1612, soon after the publication of the second edition of the Essays, says: "Sir Francis Bacon hath set out new Essays, where, in a chapter on Deformity, the world takes notice that he paints out his little cousin to the life." The "little cousin," Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, had recently died, and if "the world" was right (of

against him: 'Some good time after the first decree and before the second, the said £500 was delivered to me by Mr. Tobye Mathew, so as I cannot deny but it was, upon the matter, *pendente lite*.' Letters and Life, vii. 256. The phrase is used by Bacon in other places, and always in the same sense.

[d] *in a great wit*] Lat. *in magno ingenio.*

[e] *obnoxious*] A Latinism, frequent with Bacon. Conf. 'Somewhat obnoxious to him for his favours and benefits.' Works, vi. 64, where it is explained by Mr. Spedding as meaning rather more than obliged and not quite so much as dependent. When a man stands in such a relation to another that he is not free to act as he otherwise would, Bacon would have said that he is obnoxious to him.

[f] *officious*] i. e. ready to do offices. Conf. 'In favour, to use men with much difference and election is good, for it makes the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious.' Essay 48.

[g] *spials*] i. e. spies or detectives. Lat. *rimatores.* Conf. 'Hannibal had secret intelligence of all this variance, by spials he had sent into the enemies' camp.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 1068.

[h] *the reason of* &c.] i. e. the relation in which deformed persons stand. Lat. *ratio.*

[i] *the ground is*] Lat. *manet illa regula quam antea posuimus.*

which there is no proof) it was somewhat ungenerous of Bacon thus to hold up to contempt a man lately dead, to whom he had been indebted for many services, and to whom he had written (New Year's Day, 1608 A. D.), "I do esteem whatsoever I have, or may have, in the world but as trash in comparison of having the honour and happiness to be a near and well-accepted kinsman to so rare and worthy a counsellor, governor, and patriot."' More follows in the same strain. It is not a solitary and scarcely an extreme instance of Bacon's language to his cousin while he was alive and in power.

Whether the world was right in believing that the chapter on Deformity was sketched after Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, it is not possible to decide. There is, as Dr. Abbott says, no proof of it. It is certain, however, that strokes of the kind are not unfrequent in the Essays. In, e. g. Essay 22, Of Cunning, many of the remarks are avowedly based on Bacon's own observation of other men's words and ways. Much of Essay 26, Of Seeming Wise, points clearly to Sir Henry Hobart. In Essay 56, 'an over-speaking judge is no well-tuned cymbal' appears aimed at Bacon's old enemy, Coke. In fixing such references the judgment of contemporaries must have great weight allowed to it. Little points of resemblance, which escape notice now, would be detected at once by those who had known the living originals, and the portraits would be recognised by a variety of marks which have no significance for us. But in some points of the Essay on Deformity the likeness is still clear. It is well known that Sir Robert Cecil was deformed. Sir Robert Naunton in his Fragmenta Regalia thus describes him: 'For his person, he was not much beholding to nature, though somewhat for his face, which was the best part of his outside.' And again: 'Though his little crooked person could not promise any great supportation, yet it carried thereon a head, and a head-piece of a vast content.'

In spite of this deformity, and in spite of his weak health, Sir Robert Cecil had been in possession of advancement. He had been one of Elizabeth's most trusted ministers and counsellors, and James, little as he liked him, had used his services to the last. He had always been remarkable as what Bacon terms 'a good spial.' Naunton, after speaking of him as growing up under the 'tutorship of the times and Court, which were then the academies of art and cunning,' goes on to say, 'it seems Nature was so diligent to compleat one and the best part about him, as that to the perfection of his memory and intellectuals she took care also of his sences and to put him in *linceos oculos*, or to pleasure him the more borrowed of Argus so as to give him a prospective sight: and for the rest of his sensitive vertues, his predecessor, Walsingham' (said by Naunton 'to have had certain curiosities and secret ways of intelligence above the rest') 'had left him a receit to smell out what was done in the Conclave: and his

good old Father was so well seen in the mathematics, as that he could tell you through all Spain, every part, every ship with the burthens, whither bound with preparation, what impediments for diversion of enterprises, counsels, and resolutions.' Naunton then gives 'a taste of his abilities' in a private letter to the Earl of Devonshire, showing curious familiarity with the power and designs of Spain. This is a tolerably complete picture of a 'good spial.'

A 'good whisperer' Bacon certainly believed him to be. He had long, and perhaps rightly, suspected him of using his influence in a way not friendly to himself. We have frequent proofs of this in his letters, not to the Earl, but to other people about the Earl. In a letter, e. g. written to James (whether sent or not is uncertain) shortly after the Earl's death, he makes humble oblation of himself as a fit subject for promotion to office 'now that he is gone *quo vivente virtutibus certissimum exitium*.' Letters and Life, iv. 281, 282, So, too, writing to Sir George Villiers in 1616, he advises him to countenance and advance able men, and virtuous men, and meriting men. 'For in the time of the Cecils, the father and the son, able men were, by design and of purpose, suppressed.' Letters and Life, vi. 6. The text at the beginning of the Essay 'being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) "void of natural affection,"' may therefore have been twisted in to suit Bacon's belief that his deformed cousin had not done him an affectionate cousin's part. 'Somewhat ungenerous,' says Dr. Abbott; but not more ungenerous than his letters to the King certainly were. The first drafted (perhaps never sent) is moderate in its fault-finding, but it is unlike anything which Bacon ever ventured to let the Earl know that he thought about him. (Letters and Life, iv. 280.) Then followed an interview with the King, at which Bacon discovered that he was on safe ground in depreciating his dead cousin. (Works, vii. 175.) After this he gives free vent to his dislike. A letter (Letters and Life, iv. 313) certainly sent to the King some months after the Earl's death, and a letter quoted in a note on the same page which was drafted but not sent, are more than 'somewhat ungenerous,' and are in as marked contrast to the letter which Dr. Abbott quotes as anything in the chapter Of Deformity, in whatever way we interpret it.

P. 308, l. 3. *void of natural affection*] Romans i. 31. There is, of course, no reference to deformed persons in the original.

P. 309, l. 3. *in eunuchs* &c.] Conf. 'Deformed persons and eunuchs and old men and bastards are envious.' Essay 9.

l. 12. *Agesilaüs*] 'For the deformity of his legs, the one being shorter than the other, . . . he used the matter so pleasantly and patiently that he would merrily mock himself, which manner of merry behaviour did greatly hide the blame of the blemish. Yea, further, his life and courage was the more commendable in him, for

that men saw that notwithstanding his lameness he refused no pains nor labour.' Plutarch, Life of Agesilaus, p. 612.

l. 12. *Zanger*] A son of Solyman the magnificent. After Solyman had put his son Mustapha to death, 'he sent for Tzihanger the crooked, yet ignorant of all that was happened; and in sporting wise . . . bid him go meet his brother Mustapha: which thing Tzihanger with a merry and cheerefull countenance hasted to doe, as one glad of his brothers comming. But as soone as he came unto the place where he saw his brother lying dead upon the ground strangled, it is not to be spoken how he was in minde tormented. He was scarcely come to the place where this detestable murther was committed when his father sent unto him certain of his servants to offer unto him all Mustapha's treasure, horses, servants, jewels, tents, and withall the government of the Province of Amasia: but Tzihanger filled with extreme heaviness for the unmercifull death of his well-beloved brother, spake unto them in this sort: *Ah wicked and ungodly Caine, traitor, (I may not say father) take thou now the treasures, the horses, the tents, the servants, the jewels, and the province of Mustapha. . . . I will therefore myself provide that thou, nor none for thee shall ever hereafter in such sort shamefully triumph over a poor crooked wretch.* And having thus much said, stabbed himself with his own dagger into the body, whereof he in short time died; Which so soon as it came to the old Tiger's eares it is hard to say how much he grieved.' Knolles, Hist. of the Turks, p. 763.

l. 13. *Aesop*] On Aesop's alleged deformity, conf. 'That idiot of a monk (Planudes) has given us a book, which he calls *The Life of Aesop*, that perhaps cannot be matched in any language for ignorance and nonsense. . . . Of all his injuries to Aesop, that which can least be forgiven him is, the making such a monster of him for ugliness; an abuse that has found credit so universally, that all the modern painters since the time of Planudes, have drawn him in the worst shapes and features that fancy could invent. . . . I wish I could do that justice to the memory of our Phrygian to oblige the painters to change their pencil. For 'tis certain he was no deformed person; and 'tis probable he was very handsome.' Bentley, Dissertation upon the Fables of Aesop, secs. 9 and 10.

Gasca] Pedro de la Gasca, a Spanish ecclesiastic, sent out to Peru (1545-50) with unlimited powers to deal with the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro. He discharged his mission with success, 1547. 'Gasca (says Prescott) was plain in person, and his countenance was far from comely. He was awkward and disproportioned, for his limbs were too long for his body—so that when he rode he appeared to be much shorter than he really was.' Hist. of Conquest of Peru, bk. v. cap. 4. This book gives a lengthy account of the presidentship and acts of this remarkable man.

Socrates] Socrates' defects hardly entitle him to a place among 'deformed persons.' Perhaps Bacon had in mind a passage in Montaigne's Essays: 'Socrates a esté un exemplaire parfaict en toutes grandes qualitez. J'ay despit qu'il eust rencontré un corps et un visage si vilain, comme ils disent, et disconvenable à la beauté de son ame.' Bk. iii. chap. 12.

XLV.

OF BUILDING.

HOUSES are built to live in and not to look on; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity[a], except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houses for beauty only to the enchanted palaces of the poets, who build them with small cost. He that builds a fair house upon an ill seat committeth himself to prison: neither do I reckon it an ill seat only where the air is unwholesome, but likewise where the air is unequal; as you shall see many fine seats set upon a knap[b] of ground environed with higher hills round about it, whereby the heat of the sun is pent in, and the wind gathereth as in troughs; so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great diversity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in several places. Neither is it ill air only that maketh an ill seat; but ill ways, ill markets, and, if you will consult with Momus, ill neighbours. I speak not of many more; want of water, want of wood shade and shelter, want of fruitfulness and mixture of grounds[c] of several natures; want of prospect, want of level grounds, want of places at some near distance for

[a] *uniformity*] The Latin gives for this *pulchritudini*.

[b] *knap*] i. e. knoll or hillock. Lat. *in colliculo paululum elevato*.

[c] *mixture of grounds*] It is the want of mixture of grounds and not the mixture which Bacon speaks of as making an 'ill seat.'

sports of hunting, hawking, and races; too near the sea, too remote; having the commodity of navigable rivers, or the discommodity of their overflowing; too far off from great cities, which may hinder business; or too near them, which lurcheth[d] all provisions and maketh everything dear; where a man hath a great living laid together, and where he is scanted; all which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is good to know them and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can; and if he have several dwellings, that he sort them so that what he wanteth in the one he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well, who, when he saw his stately galleries and rooms so large and lightsome in one of his houses, said, *Surely an excellent place for summer, but how do you in winter?* Lucullus answered, *Why, do you not think me as wise as some fowls are, that ever change their abode towards the winter?*

To pass from the seat to the house itself, we will do as Cicero doth in the orator's art, who writes books De Oratore and a book he entitles Orator; whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art and the latter the perfection. We will therefore describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof; for it is strange to see now in Europe such huge buildings as the Vatican and Escurial and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair room in them.

First therefore I say, you cannot have a perfect palace except you have two several sides; a side for the banquet, as is spoken of in the book of Hester, and a side for the household; the one for feasts and triumphs[e], and the other

[d] *lurcheth*] Intercepts, snatches up. Lat. *victui necessaria absorbet.* Conf. 'Methinks it is not an auspicate beginning of a feast, nor agreeable to amity and good fellowship, to snatch or lurch one from another, to have many hands in a dish at once, to cross one another with the elbow, and to be with hand or arm in his fellow's way.' Plutarch, Morals, Sympos. ii. Quest. 10. p. 557.

[e] *triumphs*] i. e. shows of some magnificence. Conf. Essay 37.

for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only returns[f] but parts of the front; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within; and to be on both sides of a great and stately tower in the midst of the front, that as it were joineth them together on either hand. I would have, on the side of the banquet, in front, one only goodly room above stairs, of some forty foot high; and under it a room for a dressing or preparing place at times of triumphs. On the other side, which is the household side, I wish it divided at the first into a hall and a chapel (with a partition between), both of good state and bigness; and those not to go all the length, but to have at the further end a winter and a summer parlour, both fair; and under these rooms a fair and large cellar sunk under ground; and likewise some privy kitchens, with butteries and pantries, and the like. As for the tower, I would have it two stories of eighteen foot high apiece above the two wings; and a goodly leads upon the top, railed with statuas interposed; and the same tower to be divided into rooms, as shall be thought fit. The stairs likewise to the upper rooms, let them be upon a fair open newel[g], and finely railed in with images of wood cast into a brass colour; and a very fair landing-place at the top. But this to be, if you do not point[h] any of the lower rooms for a dining-place of servants; for otherwise you shall have the servants' dinner after your own: for the steam of it will

[f] *not only returns*] 'Either of the adjoining sides of the front of an house or ground-plot is called a return side.' Glossary of Terms used in Architecture. Bacon's rule must therefore be taken to mean that the returns or wings are not only to be added on to the main building, but are to form an even building line with it, the elevation being varied only by the high central tower.

[g] *newel*] Explained in the Glossary of Terms used in Architecture as *inter alia*—the central column round which the stairs of a circular stair-case wind. So Cotgrave, Dictionary, *sub voce:* 'Noyau—the nuell or spindel of a winding staircase.' The Latin presents the same picture in somewhat different terms: *Gradus autem turris apertos esse et in se revertentes;* and adds further—*et per senos subinde divisos.*

[h] *point*] i.e. appoint. Conf. 'pointing days for pitched fields.' Essay 58.

come up as in a tunnel. And so much for the front: only I understand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen foot, which is the height of the lower room.

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court, but three sides of it of a far lower building than the front; and in all the four corners of that court fair staircases, cast into turrets on the outside, and not within the row of buildings themselves: but those towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building. Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer and much cold in winter: but only some side alleys with a cross[i], and the quarters to graze, being kept shorn but not too near shorn. The row of return on the banquet side, let it be all stately galleries: in which galleries let there be three or five fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance, and fine coloured windows of several works: on the household side, chambers of presence and ordinary entertainments, with some bed-chambers: and let all three sides be a double house[k], without thorough lights on the sides, that you may have rooms from the sun, both for forenoon and afternoon. Cast it also that you may have rooms both for summer and winter; shady for summer and warm for winter. You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass that one cannot tell where to become[l] to be out of

[i] *with a cross* &c.] i. e. with two central paths, crossing it to the length and breadth, and thus dividing the court into four quarters or plots, which are 'to graze,' or to have grass growing on them. The Latin is more clear than the somewhat enigmatical English: *Area habeat . . . formam crucis ex iisdem (ambulacris) in medio; cum quadris interpositis, quae gramine vestiantur.* For 'graze,' conf. 'The fenmen hold that the sewers must be kept so as the water may not stay too long in the spring, till the weeds and sedge be grown up: for then the ground will be like a wood . . . whereby it will never graze (to purpose) that year.' Works, ii. 527.

[k] *be a double house*] i. e. let them have rooms back and front.

[l] *to become*] i. e. to betake oneself. Lat. *ubi te recipias.* The word, in this sense, was growing obsolete in Bacon's day. It occurs in Shakespeare twice only, and in a play of questioned authorship.

'I cannot joy until I be resolved
Where our right valiant father is become.'

Henry VI, Part iii. act ii. sc. 1, or

the sun or cold. For imbowed[m] windows, I hold them of good use (in cities indeed upright do better, in respect of the uniformity towards the street); for they be pretty retiring places for conference; and besides, they keep both the wind and sun off; for that which would strike almost through the room doth scarce pass the window: but let them be but few, four in the court, on the sides only.

Beyond this court, let there be an inward court of the same square and height, which is to be environed with the garden on all sides; and in the inside, cloistered on all sides upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the first story: on the under story towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotto, or place of shade, or estivation[n], and only have opening and windows towards the garden, and be level upon the floor, no whit sunk under ground to avoid all dampishness: and let there be a fountain, or some fair work of statuas in the midst of this court, and to be paved as the other court was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides, and the end for privy galleries; whereof you must foresee that one of them be for an infirmary, if the prince or any special person should be sick, with chambers, bed-chamber, anticamera[o], and recamera, joining to it; this upon the second story. Upon the ground story, a fair gallery, open, upon pillars; and upon the third story likewise, an open gallery upon pillars, to take the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the further side, by way of return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst; and all other elegancy that can be thought upon.

True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York, sc. 4; and

'But Madam, where is Warwick then become?'

Henry VI, Part iii. act iv. sc. 4.

[m] *inbowed*] i. e. arched, bent like a bow = bow-windows. Lat. *Quantum ad fenestras prominentes sive arcuatas.*

[n] *estivation*] i. e. summer use: from the Latin *aestivare*, to take cool quarters for summer.

[o] *anticamera*] Properly (as in the Latin trans.) *antecamera.*

In the upper gallery too, I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall[p], with some fine avoidances[q]. And thus much for the model of the palace; save that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts; a green court plain with a wall about it; a second court of the same but more garnished, with little turrets or rather embellishments upon the wall; and a third court, to make a square with the front, but not to be built nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with terraces leaded aloft, and fairly garnished on the three sides; and cloistered on the inside with pillars, and not with arches below. As for offices, let them stand at distance, with some low galleries to pass from them to the palace itself.

Notes and Illustrations.

The care for use and beauty to the neglect of defensive strength in building had been of somewhat recent growth in Bacon's day. The reign of Henry VII had introduced a new mode of living, and with it a new style of domestic architecture. With his marriage the feuds between the houses of York and Lancaster came to an end, and a long season of internal peace seemed about to follow the troublous times of the preceding monarchs. Before this domestic architecture can scarcely be said to have had any existence; the mansions erected were rather military than domestic, more like fortresses than dwellings. Now men began to look for convenience rather than strength. The thickness of the walls was reduced; the size of the windows was enlarged, and the general arrangements were made for comfort and convenience rather than for security. Henry VIII had been a great builder, and had encouraged his nobles to build. But before the date of the Elizabethan or late Tudor style (a style which continued in use during the reign of James I) the mansions had usually

[p] *from the wall*] Lat. *juxta parietes.*

[q] *with some fine avoidances*] i. e. channels artfully arranged by which the water may pass away. Lat. *qui per secretos tubos iterum transeant.* The word fine has so many meanings, any of which would suit the text, that it is only by help of the Latin that its sense here can be determined. The secrecy of the Latin seems to follow from the nature of the objects, which, if well contrived, must be artfully kept out of sight.

been one story in height, and badly planned. With the new style came more lofty buildings, and more skill in the disposition of the apartments. Next, more bay-windows were introduced, more importance was given to the halls and staircases, and the lighting area was increased, the windows being greatly enlarged in size—so much so, indeed, that as Bacon declares in his Essay, 'you shall sometimes have fair houses so full of glass that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sun or cold.' Bacon, in his early writings, had already noted the general improvement that had been made in English building. In his discourse in praise of his sovereign (Elizabeth) he says, 'if you have respect (to take one sign for many) to the number of fair houses that have been built since her reign, as Augustus said that he had received the city of brick and had left it of marble, so she may say she received it a realm of cottages, and hath made it a realm of palaces.' Letters and Life, i. 131. And, 'There was never the like number of fair and stately houses as have been built and set up from the ground since her Majesty's reign; insomuch that there have been reckoned in one shire that is not great to the number of three and thirty, which have been all new built within that time; and whereof the meanest was never built for two thousand pounds.' Ibid. p. 158. James' reign had been distinguished in the same way. Nicholson, in his Dictionary of Architecture, *sub tit.* Tudor Architecture (from which a great part of the above note has been taken), gives a list of the most magnificent structures and chief nobles' palaces built in James'-time.

P. 313, l. 15. *consult with Momus*] The reference is to the well-known story of the faults found by Momus in each of the three works between which he was appointed to decide. As it is told in the Mythologia Aesopica of Neveletus, the three contending powers were (1) Jupiter, who produced a bull, pronounced faulty because its eyes were not best placed for guiding the stroke of its horns; (2) Prometheus, who produced a man, whose fault was that the seat of his thoughts did not hang outside him, so that his thoughts might be seen; and (3) Minerva, who produced a house, on which the remark was 'oportuisse Minervam rotas aedibus supposuisse, ut si quis forte malo cohabitaret vicino, facile discedere posset.' Aesopi fabulae Graecolatinae, 193, Jupiter, Prometheus, Minerva et Momus (published 1610). Bacon refers elsewhere to the story, but not to this part of it, and not as it is told here. He speaks in the Advancement of Learning of 'that window which Momus did require, who seeing in the frame of man's heart such angles and recesses, found fault there was not a window to look into them.' Works, iii. 456. This is the version which Lucian gives in the Hermotimus. The rest of the story he omits. Neveletus's edition of Aesop appeared between the date of the Advancement of

Learning and of the third edition of the Essays. Conf. also 'He was to sell a piece of land that he had, and gave order to the Crier who proclaimed the sale to put in this and cry: That it had besides good neighbors neare unto it.' Plutarch, Morals, Apophthegmes of Kings, &c., under 'Themistocles.'

P. 314, l. 11. *Lucullus answered*] Conf. '(Lucullus) had also many other pleasant places within the territories of Rome near unto Tusculum, where there were great large halls set upon terraces to see round about far off in the daytime. And Pompey going thither sometime to see him, reproved him greatly, telling him that he had built a marvellous fair summer-house, but not to be dwelt in in the winter season. Lucullus, laughing, answered him, Do ye think me to have less wit and reason than storks or cranes, that I cannot shift houses according to the season?' Plutarch, Lives, p. 534.

l. 24. *the Vatican and Escurial*] Both these structures are rather remarkable for the number and extent of their very fair rooms.

P. 316, l. 12. *with a cross, and the quarters* &c.] A court, such as Bacon describes, may be seen in the great court of Trinity College, Cambridge. On the date at which it was laid out Professor Jebb writes to me as follows: 'Your sketch corresponds with the general plan of the Great Court in Trinity College. In Willis's "Architectural History of the University of Cambridge, and of the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton"—a work completed by J. W. Clark (1886)—you will find (1) a plan of Trinity College, from Lyne's plan of Cambridge (1574), and (2) do. from Hammond's plan of Cambridge (1592; vol. iii. p. 400 ff.). In neither of these do we see the four grass plots. Certain buildings of an older date then projected into the quadrangle. But in the "Architectural History" there is also a copy of a "Scheme for laying out the Great Court of Trinity College," of which the original is preserved in the College Library, and of which the date is probably about 1595 (vol. iii. p. 464). And here the four grass plots appear. Bacon was then (i. e. in 1595) thirty-four, and the plan of the great Court just noticed was carried out by Thomas Nevile, Master of the College, from 1593 to 1615.

'It seems quite possible, then, that, as you suggest, this was the "fair court" of which Bacon was thinking.'

XLVI.

OF GARDENS.

God Almighty first planted a garden; and, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures; it is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man; without which buildings and palaces are but gross handy-works: and a man shall ever see that, when ages grow to civility[a] and elegancy, men come to build stately sooner than to garden finely; as if gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year, in which severally things of beauty may be then in season. For December and January and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter: holly, ivy, bays, juniper, cypress-trees, yew, pineapple-trees[b], fir-trees, rosemary, lavender, periwinkle, the white the purple and the blue, germander, flags, orange-trees, lemon-trees, and myrtles, if they be stoved[c]; and sweet marjoram, warm set[d]. There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezereon-tree[e] which then blossoms; crocus vernus both the yellow and the grey; primroses, anemones, the

[a] *to civility*] i. e. to civilization. Lat. *secula quum proficiunt in culturâ.* Conf. 'Ireland is the last ex filiis Europae which hath been reclaimed . . . from savage and barbarous customs to humanity and civility.' Letters and Life, vi. 205.

[b] *pineapple-trees*] i. e. pine-trees. Lat. *pinus.* The pine-apple was a common name for what we term the pine-cone. Conf. 'The fruits or apples of these (the pine-trees) be called in Greek *κῶνοι.*' Gerard, Herball. bk. iii. cap. 38. The name still survives in the French *pomme de pin.*

[c] *stoved*] i. e. kept in hot-houses. Lat. *si calidariis conserventur.*

[d] *warm set*] Lat, *juxta parietem et versus solem satus.*

[e] *the mezereon-tree*] This must be what Lyte terms the Dutch mezereon. The other species of mezereon are much later in flowering. New Herball. iii. cap. 38. 'The dwarf bay tree, called of Dutchmen Mezereon, is a small shrub two cubits high. The flowers appear before the leaves, oftimes in January. It may be called the German olive spurge, not much unlike to the olive tree in leaf.' Gerard, Herball. iii. cap. 63.

early tulippa[f], the hyacinthus orientalis[g], chamaïris[h], fritellaria. For March, there come violets, especially the single blue which are the earliest, the yellow daffodil, the daisy, the almond-tree in blossom, the peach-tree in blossom, the cornelian-tree[i] in blossom, sweet-briar. In April follow the double white violet, the wall-flower, the stock-gilliflower, the cowslip, flower-de-luces, and lilies of all natures, rosemary-flowers, the tulippa, the double peony, the pale daffodil, the French honeysuckle, the cherry-tree in blossom, the damson and plum-trees in blossom, the white thorn in leaf, the lilac-tree. In May and June come pinks of all sorts, specially the blush-pink, roses of all kinds, except the musk which comes later, honeysuckles, strawberries, bugloss, columbine, the French marygold, flos Africanus[k], cherry-tree in fruit, ribes, figs in fruit, raspes[l], vine-flowers, lavender in flowers, the sweet satyrian[m] with the white flower, herba muscaria[n], lilium

[f] *the early tulippa*] Lat. *tulipa praecox*, given by Gerard as tulipa praecox tota lūtea. He always speaks of the tulipa, never of the tulip. So too Parkinson, who mentions several sorts of the Tulipa praecox or the early flowering Tulipa. Paradisus Terrestris, p. 46 (fol. 1656).

[g] *hyacinthus orientalis*] Gerard mentions two species of this, the Caeruleus and the Polyanthus, among the early flowering sorts, from the end of January to April. Herball. bk. i, chap. 70.

[h] *chamaïris*] Properly, as in Latin, *chamaeiris*, the name of some species of the Flower de Luce, usually of the narrow-leafed species. Gerard, Herball. bk. i. chap. 36, and Parkinson, Paradisus Terrestris, p. 187.

[i] *the cornelian-tree*] i. e. the male cornell-tree. Lat. *cornus*. 'The Grecians call it *κρανία*: the Latins cornus: . . . in English the cornell tree and the Cornelia tree; of some, long Cherrie and long Cherrie tree.' Gerard, Herball. bk. iii. cap. 98.

[k] *the French marygold, flos Africanus*] The Latin gives *Flos Africanus simplex et multiplex* for these two sorts. Gerard includes them under one heading as 'The French marigold or Flos Africanus,' some species of which he terms multiflorus, others simplici flore. Herball. bk. ii. 246.

[l] *raspes*] i.e. raspberries. Lat. *baccae rubi idaei*. 'The raspis is called in Greek *βάτος ἰδαία*: in Latine rubus idaeus: . . . in English Raspis, Framboise, and Hindberrie.' Gerard, Herball. bk. iii. cap. 2.

[m] *the sweet satyrian* &c.] This may be the female Satyrion Royal, which Gerard describes as having sometimes a white flower, and as smelling like elder blossoms. Herball. bk. i. cap. 115.

[n] *herba muscaria*] This is the Muscari or Musked Grape flower. 'These plants,' says Gerard, 'may be referred unto the Hyacinthus, whereof undoubtedly they be kinds.' Herball. bk. i. chap. 72.

convallium, the apple-tree in blossom [o]. In July come gilliflowers of all varieties, musk-roses, the lime-tree in blossom, early pears, and plums in fruit, ginnitings [p], codlins [q]. In August comes plums of all sorts in fruit, pears, apricockes [r], barberries [s], filberts, musk-melons, monks-hoods of all colours. In September come grapes, apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melocotones [t], nectarines, cornelians, wardens [u], quinces. In October and the beginning of November come services, medlars, bullaces, roses cut or removed to come late, hollyhocks, and such like. These particulars are for the climate of

[o] *in blossom*] The Latin adds here *Flos cyaneus*, which Gerard terms the Blue Bottle, or Corn-flower or cockle. He describes several species of it. Herball. bk. ii. chap. 240.

[p] *ginnitings*] 'The geniting apple is a very good and pleasant apple.' Parkinson, Paradisus, p. 588. Philemon Holland's spelling comes nearer to the modern form *jenneting*. Conf. 'Pomegranite trees, fig trees, and apple trees, live a very short time: and of these, the hastie kind, or jenitings, continue nothing so long as those that bear and ripen later.' Trans. of Pliny, Nat. Hist. xvi. cap. 44. The original gives only 'ex his, praecocibus brevior quam serotinis (vita).'

[q] *codlins*] The only species which Parkinson gives under this name is the Kentish codlin. He describes it as a fair, great, and greenish apple, the best to coddle of all other apples. p. 588.

[r] *apricockes*] This comes close to the genuine old spelling. Gerard speaks of 'abrecocke, called of some aprecocke and aprecox.' The modern name apricot, he does not use at all, Herball. iii. chap. 95, nor does Parkinson.

[s] *barberries*] This is Gerard's spelling. Bacon writes 'berberies' here, and further on, 'beare-berries.' Gerard describes the plant as 'full of prickly thorns, with berries red when ripe, of sour and sharp taste. It's flowers and fruit come in September.' Herball. iii. cap. 23. This corresponds well with the modern barberry, or berberis. Conf. also Parkinson, Paradisus Terrestris, p. 561.

[t] *melocotones*] The Melocotone Peach—Malus Persica Melocotonea—is termed by Parkinson 'a yellow fair peach,' and is said to ripen early and to be better relished than the rest. Paradisus Terrestris, p. 580. Or Bacon may possibly mean the fruit of the Malus Cotonea, which (says Gerard) 'is named malum cotoneum, in Italian mele cotogne, in English quince.' Herball. bk. iii. cap. 97. If so, this quince will be what Parkinson praises as the Portingal apple quince, distinct from and superior to the English or ordinary apple quince. Paradisus Terrestris, p. 589. He says in his Herball (tribe 16, cap. 74) that Cato first called it Cotonea Malus and Pliny after him. Conf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. bk. xv. cap. 11.

[u] *wardens*] A species of pear, mentioned but not specially described by Parkinson, Paradisus Terrestris, p. 593.

London; but my meaning is perceived, that you may have *ver perpetuum* as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes like the warbling of music), than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast flowers[x] of their smells; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness; yea, though it be in a morning's dew. Bays likewise yield no smell as they grow, rosemary little, nor sweet marjoram; that which above all others yields the sweetest smell in the air is the violet, especially the white double violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of April and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the musk-rose; then the strawberry-leaves dying, which[y] a most excellent cordial smell; then the flower of the vines, it is a little dust like the dust of a bent[z], which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth; then sweet-briar, then wallflowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber window; then pinks and gilliflowers, specially the matted pink and clove gilliflower; then the flowers of the lime-tree; then the honeysuckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of bean-flowers I speak not, because they are field-flowers; but those

[x] *fast flowers of their smells*] i. e. not freely giving out. Lat. *odoris sui sunt tenaces nec aerem tingunt.* Conf. 'The King also being fast-handed and loth to part with a second dowry, prevailed with the Prince to be contracted with the Princess Katherine.' Works, vi. 215.

[y] *which*] There is no doubt as to the reading here. The Latin gives *quae halitum emittunt plane cardiacum.* The words needed to complete the sense have clearly been omitted through some error in the MS.

[z] *a bent*] The name of several grasses and weeds in pasture lands. The Pannicke grasse, e. g., is called by Gerard 'a bent or feather top grasse.' Herball. bk. i. cap. 6. Of the cats-tail grasse he says, 'it may in English as well be called round bent grasse as cats taile grasse,' chap. 8. The name is still in popular use for the long stalked grasses, not fed down by cattle, which are seen in pasture lands in the autumn.

which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three; that is, burnet, wild thyme, and water mints; therefore you are to set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens (speaking of those which are indeed prince-like, as we have done of buildings), the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground, and to be divided into three parts; a green in the entrance, a heath or desert in the going forth, and the main garden in the midst, besides alleys on both sides; and I like well that four acres of ground be assigned to the green, six to the heath, four and four to either side, and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures: the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a stately hedge which is to enclose the garden: but because the alley will be long, and in great heat of the year or day you ought not to buy the shade in the garden by going in the sun through the green; therefore you are, of either side the green, to plant a covert alley upon carpenter's work, about twelve foot in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for the making of knots or figures with divers coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side which the garden stands, they be but toys; you may see as good sights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four sides with a stately arched hedge; the arches to be upon pillars of carpenter's work, of some ten foot high and six foot broad, and the spaces between of the same dimension with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of some four foot high, framed also upon carpenter's work; and upon the upper hedge, over every arch a little turret

with a belly enough to receive a cage of birds: and over every space between the arches some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon: but this hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with flowers. Also I understand, that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys, unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you; but there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure; not at the hither end, for letting[a] your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green; nor at the further end, for letting your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device; advising nevertheless that whatsoever form you cast it into, first it be not too busy, or full of work; wherein I for my part do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff; they be for children. Little low hedges, round, like welts[b], with some pretty pyramids, I like well; and in some places fair columns upon frames of carpenter's work. I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount with three ascents and alleys, enough for four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect circles[c], without any bulwarks or embossments; and the whole mount to be thirty foot

[a] *letting*] i. e. obstructing. Lat. *ne conspectum impediat.*

[b] *like welts*] i. e. borders or edgings. Lat. *instar fimbriarum.* Conf. 'Now there are certain Scioli or Smatterers, that are busy in the skirts and outsides of learning, and have scarce anything of solid literature to commend them. They may have some edging or trimming of a scholar, a welt or so; but it is no more.' Ben Jonson, Discoveries, *sub. tit.* Differentia inter Doctos et Sciolos.

[c] *perfect circles*] These must be understood of the alleys, at different stages of height, up to which the three ascents are severally to lead.

high, and some fine banqueting-house with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment; but pools mar all and make the garden unwholesome and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures; the one that sprinkleth or spouteth water: the other a fair receipt of water, of some thirty or forty foot square, but without fish or slime or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images gilt or of marble which are in use do well: but the main matter is so to convey the water as it never stay, either in the bowls or in the cistern, that the water be never by rest discoloured, green, or red, or the like, or gather any mossiness or putrefaction; besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand: also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it doth well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing-pool, it may admit much curiosity and beauty, wherewith we will not trouble ourselves: as that the bottom be finely paved, and with images; the sides likewise; and withal embellished with coloured glass and such things of lustre; encompassed also with fine rails of low statuas; but the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain; which is that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts and then discharged away under ground by some equality of bores, that it stay little; and for fine devices, of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of features, drinking-glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wish it to be framed as much as may be to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, but some thickets made only of sweet-briar and honeysuckle, and

some wild vine amongst; and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses; for these are sweet, and prosper in the shade; and these to be in the heath here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills (such as are in wild heaths), to be set, some with wild thyme, some with pinks, some with germander that gives a good flower to the eye, some with periwinkle, some with violets, some with strawberries, some with cowslips, some with daisies, some with red roses, some with lilium convallium, some with sweet-williams red, some with bear's-foot, and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly; part of which heaps to be with standards of little bushes pricked[d] upon their top, and part without: the standards to be roses, juniper, holly, barberries (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom), red currants, gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweet-briar, and such like: but these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.

For the side grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade; some of them, wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp you may walk as in a gallery: and those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind; and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these alleys likewise you are to set fruit-trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges; and this should be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair and large and low and not steep; and set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive the trees[e]. At

[d] *pricked*] i. e. planted. Lat. *consitos.*

[e] *deceive the trees*] i. e. rob the trees of nourishment. Lat. *ne succo defraudent arbores.* Conf. 'Because the great tree doth deprive and deceive them of sap and nourishment.' Works, vii. 86.

the end of both the side grounds I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast-high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys, ranged on both sides, with fruit-trees, and some pretty tufts of fruit-trees and arbours with seats, set in some decent order; but these to be by no means set too thick, but to leave the main garden so as it be not close but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year, and in the heat of summer for the morning and the evening or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeness as they may be turfed and have living plants and bushes set in them; that the birds may have more scope and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear in the floor of the aviary. So I have made a platform[f] of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing; not a model, but some general lines of it; and in this I have spared for no cost: but it is nothing for great princes, that for the most part, taking advice with workmen, with no less cost set their things together, and sometimes add statuas and such things for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

Notes and Illustrations.

In this Essay, the spelling of the original text is more than usually erratic. We have e.g. 'dazie' then 'daisies': 'wilde time' then 'wilde thyme': for 'barberries' we have first 'berberies' then 'beare-berries.' For 'currans,' 'filberds,' 'orenge,' 'limon,' and 'eugh' for 'yew,' there is good contemporary authority. 'Quadlins'

[f] *platform*] i. e. plan or pattern. Lat. *figuram*. Conf. 'Let us seek the dignity of knowledge in the arch-type or first platform.' Works, iii. 295.

for 'codlins,' 'lelacke' for 'lilac,' or as Gerard spells it 'lillach,' and 'hollyokes' for 'hollihockes,' seem to be mere freaks. 'Dammasin' for 'damson' must be a phonetic representation of the old 'damascene,' or as Gerard spells it 'damascen.' Herball. iii. cap. 126. I have generally modernized the spelling, but in one or two instances I have thought it better to keep exactly to the original text.

P. 326, l. 18. *I for my part do not like images cut out in juniper* &c.] For curious instances of this practice, conf. 'Au XVI^e^ siècle ... près de Harlem, toute une chasse au cerf était représentée en charmille: l'abbé de Clairmarais, dans son jardin de Saint-Omer, avait une troupe d'oies, de dindons et de grues, en if et en romarin: l'abbé des Dunes était gardé par des gendarmes de buis.' Larousse, Dict. Univ., *sub voce* jardin.

P. 329, l. 18. *in the floor of the aviary*] The Latin adds here: *Quantum vero ad ambulacra in clivis, et variis ascensibus amoenis conficienda, illa naturae dona sunt, nec ubique exstrui possunt: nos autem ea posuimus quae omni loco conveniunt.*

XLVII.

OF NEGOTIATING.

It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter; and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good when a man would draw an answer by letter back again; or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce his own letter; or where it may be danger to be interrupted or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors; or in tender[a] cases where a man's eye upon the countenance of him with whom he speaketh may give him a direction how far to go: and generally where a man will reserve to himself liberty either to disavow or to expound. In choice of instruments, it is

[a] *tender*] Lat. *in rebus quas extremis tantum digitis tangere convenit.* Conf. 'In things that are tender and unpleasing it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight.' Essay 22, p. 159.

better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to do that that is committed to them and to report back again faithfully the success[b], than those that are cunning to contrive out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report[c], for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect[d] the business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much; and such as are fit for the matter, as bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and absurd[e] men for business that doth not well bear out itself[f]. Use also such as have been lucky and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them; for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their prescription. It is better to sound a person with whom one deals afar off than to fall upon the point at first, except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite[g] than with those that are where they would be. If a man deal[h] with another upon conditions, the start or first performance is all: which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such which must go before: or else a man can persuade the

[b] *the success*] i. e. the result, whatever it may be. Conf. 'Such was the success of Crassus' enterprise and voyage, much like unto the end of a tragedy.' Plutarch, Lives, p. 579.

[c] *will help the matter* &c.] i. e. will report the result as better than it really is, in order to please their employer. Lat. *qui ea quae referunt verbis emollient ut impense placeant.*

[d] *affect*] i. e. have a liking for or wish success to. Lat. *qui negotio faveant.* Conf. 'I take goodness in this sense, the affecting the weal of men.' Essay 13, and *passim.*

[e] *absurd*] Probably, rough and rude. Vide note on Essay 26, last line.

[f] *that doth not well* &c.] The Latin gives *res quae aliquid iniqui habent.* This need not mean more than business which is unsound in some way, and so fails to recommend itself.

[g] *men in appetite*] Lat. *qui in ambitu sunt.* Ital. *quelli che hanno appetito, et sono in via.* So, in Bacon's Discourse in praise of Queen Elizabeth, he speaks of 'her wonderful art in keeping servants in satisfaction and yet in appetite.' Letters and Life, i. 139; and 'Rem(ember) to advise the K. not to call Serg^ts before Parlam^t, but to keep the lawyers in awe:' i. e. as Mr. Spedding explains the passage, in expectation of promotion and in fear of forfeiting it. Letters and Life, iv. 43.

[h] *If a man deal* &c.] Vide note at end of Essay.

other party that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honester man. All practice[1] is to discover or to work. Men discover themselves in trust, in passion, at unawares, and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing with cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negotiations of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap at once; but must prepare business and so ripen it by degrees.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 330, l. 8. *where a man's eye* &c.] Conf. 'It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with whom you speak with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept.' Essay 22, p. 158.

P. 331, l. 14. *better to sound* &c.] Conf. in Bacon's rules for his own guidance: 'Not to fall upon the mayne too soudayne.' Letters and Life, iv. 93; and for the next clause: 'A sudden bold and unexpected question doth many times surprise a man and lay him open.' Essay 22.

l. 19. *If a man deal* &c.] The obscurity of this passage is due very much to the indeterminate use of the pronouns. The Latin, whether correct or incorrect, is clear on this point, and it suggests and supports, in the concluding paragraph, a sense not obvious in the English: 'Si cum alio sub conditione negotieris, prima veluti occupatio aut possessio votorum in praecipuis numeranda: id autem cum ratione postulare nequis, nisi aut natura rei talis sit quae praecedere debeat; aut alteri commode insinuare possis illum operâ tuâ in aliis usurum; aut denique habearis ipse pro homine inprimis integro et verace.' The entire passage may, I think, be thus paraphrased:—If *A* agree with *B* to do something upon condition that *B* does some-

[1] *practice*] Lat. *negociatio*. This word, common in Bacon's writings, carries some sense of crafty or underhand dealing.

thing on his side, the chief matter to be settled is which of the two is to be the first to fulfil his part of the engagement. *A* cannot reasonably demand that *B* shall be the first unless the thing which *B* is to do must necessarily be done first; or unless he can persuade *B* that even when the thing is done he (*A*) will still be dependent upon *B* and in need of some other service from him; or unless (he can persuade him that) he (*A*) is a thoroughly trustworthy man. It will be seen that in one clause I have not followed the Latin, but it is a clause in which the Latin apparently departs from the English. For Bacon's use of a comparative form—the honester man—where no comparison is intended, conf. the introduction to the History of King Henry VII: 'I have not flattered him, but took him to life as well as I could, sitting so far off, and having no better light,' i. e. no very good light. Lat. 'stando tam procul et luce paulo obscuriore.' Works, vi. p. 25.

So in Essay 44: 'It is good to consider of deformity not as a sign which is more deceivable;' Lat. 'quod quandoque fallit;' and in Essay 34: 'if he be not the better stablished in years and judgment.'

P. 332, l. 4. *at unawares*] Conf. 'That more trust be given to countenances and deeds than to words; and in words rather to sudden passages and surprised words than to set and purposed words.' Works, iii. 457.

XLVIII.

OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

Costly followers are not to be liked; lest while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune[a] in suits. Ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived

[a] *importune*] i. e. importunate. Lat. *importuni.*

against some other; whereupon commonly ensueth that ill intelligence, that we many times see between great personages. Likewise glorious[b] followers, who make themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience; for they taint business through want of secrecy; and they export honour from a man, and make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers likewise which are dangerous, being indeed espials; which inquire the secrets of the house and bear tales of them to others; yet such men many times are in great favour; for they are officious[c], and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain estates[d] of men answerable to that which a great person himself professeth (as of soldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like), hath ever been a thing civil[e] and well taken even in monarchies, so it be without too much pomp or popularity. But the most honourable kind of following is to be followed as one that apprehendeth[f] to advance virtue and desert in all sorts of persons; and yet, where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency[g], it is better to take with the more passable than with the more able; and besides, to speak truth, in base times active men are of more use than virtuous[h]. It is true that in government it is good to

[b] *glorious*] i.e. boastful. Lat. *gloriosi.*

[c] *officious*] i. e. forward to do offices.

[d] *estates*] i. e. orders or professions. Lat. *clientelae hominum ordinis cujuspiam.*

[e] *civil*] i. e. decent, orderly. Lat. *pro re decora habitum est.* Conf. 'The times inclined to atheism, as the time of Augustus Caesar, were civil times.' Essay 17. But conf. note on Essay 29, p. 220, l. 14.

[f] *apprehendeth to advance*] i.e. probably, takes on himself, assumes, the office of advancing. Lat. *ut quis patronum se profiteatur.* Instead of this somewhat ambiguous word, the ed. of 1612 reads 'intendeth' (i. e. makes it his special object) 'to advance.' Ital. *come chi ha per oggetto il promovere.*

[g] *sufficiency*] i. e. ability.

[h] *virtuous*] If this remark is to link on to the clause before it, we must understand virtuous in the sense which Bacon gives to it elsewhere—possessed of eminent qualities of any kind. Conf. 'Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous but less innocent than their descendants.' Essay 14. The 'virtuous' therefore will be the same as the 'more able' of the previous clause; while the 'more passable' men may

use men of one rank equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily is to make them insolent and the rest discontent; because they may claim a due[i]: but contrariwise in favour to use men with much difference and election is good; for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious: because all is of favour. It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first; because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by one is not safe; for it shows softness, and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation; for those that would not censure or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour; yet to be distracted with many is worse; for it makes men to be of the last impression[k], and full of change. To take advice of some few friends is ever honourable; *for lookers-on many times see more than gamesters; and the vale best discovereth the hill.* There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend[l] the one the other.

be credited with the greater activity. The Latin, however, interprets the remark independently of the context: *homines industrii et satagentes usui magis sunt quam vera virtute praediti.* It does not occur in the edition of 1612, so that there is no help to be got from the French or Italian version.

[i] *because they may claim a due*] This is obscure from over-compression. The Latin gives, more fully,—*quandoquidem ordinis paritas aequas gratiae conditiones tanquam ex debito poscit.*

[k] *of the last impression*] i. e. makes them bear from time to time the impress, whatever it is, which happens to have been last put upon them. The Latin gives a curious twist to the metaphor: *reddet postremae* (*ut nunc loquuntur*) *editionis.* Conf. 'A man shall meet with in every day's conference the denominations of *sensitive, dry, formal, real, humorous, certain, huomo di prima impressione, huomo di ultima impressione,* and the like.' Works, iii. 435. The distinction intended clearly is between the man who retains unchanged the first impression he happens to have received, and the man who takes each new impression in its turn, and retains it only until a later impression obliterates it and takes its place.

[l] *may comprehend*] i. e. may include —since the good or bad fortune of the superior will have its effect to the advantage or to the disadvantage of his inferior friend.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 334, l. 9. *which inquire the secrets of the house*] So Juvenal, of the ways of the Greeks at Rome: 'Scire volunt secreta domus, atque inde timeri.' Sat. iii. 113.

l. 22. *in base times* &c.] On the failure of ability in 'base times' and on the advantage which the more active enjoy (and may consequently confer on their patrons), conf. Thucydides on the state of things during intestine quarrels in Greece: Καὶ οἱ φαυλότεροι γνώμην ὡς τὰ πλείω περιεγίγνοντο· τῷ γὰρ δεδιέναι τό τε αὑτῶν ἐνδεὲς καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ξυνετόν, μὴ λόγοις τε ἥσσους ὦσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πολυτρόπου αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης φθάσωσι προεπιβουλευόμενοι, τολμηρῶς πρὸς τὰ ἔργα ἐχώρουν. Οἱ δὲ καταφρονοῦντες κἂν προαισθέσθαι, καὶ ἔργῳ οὐδὲν σφᾶς δεῖν λαμβάνειν ἃ γνώμῃ ἔξεστιν, ἄφρακτοι μᾶλλον διεφθείροντο. Bk. iii. cap. 83.

P. 335, l. 17. *the vale best* &c.] This enigmatical saying is explained in the De Augmentis Scientiarum as—'Proverbium quoddam magis audaculum quam sanum, de censurâ vulgi circa actiones principum, *stantem in valle optime perlustrare montem.*' Works, i. 727.

Dr. Abbott finds its origin in a passage in Machiavelli's dedication of his 'Prince' to Lorenzo de Medici: 'Così come coloro che disegnano i paesi si pongono bassi nel piano a considerare la natura de' monti e de' luoghi alti, ... similmente a conoscere bene la natura . . . . de' principi bisogna esser popolare.'

l. 19. *which was wont* &c.] Εἰπέ τε πρῶτος (ὁ Πυθαγόρας) . . . φιλίαν ἰσότητα. Diog. Laert. bk. viii. sec. 10.

So Aristotle quotes and endorses the proverb—ἰσότης φιλότης. Eth. Nicom. ix. cap. 8.

XLIX.

OF SUITORS.

Many ill matters and projects are undertaken[a]; and private suits do putrefy the public good. Many good

[a] *are undertaken*] i. e. are taken up, or as he afterwards says, 'embraced,' not by the original projector but by the patron or great man to whom the projector applies for help. Vide infra, 'some undertake suits with a full purpose to let them fall,' and conf. 'A speech by Sir Francis Bacon in the Lower House about the Undertakers, who were thought to be some able and forward gentlemen, who were said to have undertaken that the

matters are undertaken with bad minds; I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds, that intend not performance. Some embrace suits which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter by some other mean[b], they will be content to win a thank[c], or take a second reward[d], or at least to make use in the mean time of the suitor's hopes. Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to cross some other, or to make an information[e], whereof they could not otherwise have apt pretext, without care what become of the suit when that turn is served; or generally, to make other men's business a kind of entertainment to bring in their own: nay, some undertake suits with a full purpose to let them fall; to the end to gratify the adverse party or competitor. Surely there is in some sort a right in every suit; either a right of equity if it be a suit of controversy, or a right of desert if it be a suit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving or dis-

King's business should pass in that House as his majesty could wish.' Letters and Life, v. 42 ff. Bacon had been in communication with the King about their proposals. The object of his speech was to 'do the part of an honest voice in this House,' or, in other words, to convince the Parliament that no such persons existed and that no such proposals had been made.

[b] *some other mean*] This word occurs in the singular in several other places. Conf. e. g. 'It is the soloecism of power to think to command the end and yet not to endure the mean.' Essay 19.

[c] *a thank*] For this singular, conf. 'I have no thank for all my good deeds.' Ecclus. xx. 16.

[d] *a second reward*] i.e. a secondary, inferior, incidental gain, apart from what they might receive from the success of the project. Lat. *mercedem aliquam secundariam captabunt.* Conf. 'For their second nobles, there is not much danger from them.' Essay 19. And, 'Those that are seconds in factions do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals.' Essay 51.

[e] *to make an information* &c.] i. e. probably, to gain information about some matter which they could not otherwise find an apt pretext for inquiring about. Lat. *ut aliquid obiter deferant et informent, cujus alias praetextum idoneum parare non potuerint.* To make = to gain, is in common use still, in the phrase e. g. to make money.

abling[f] the better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour: but let him choose well his referendaries[g], for else he may be led by the nose. Suitors are so distasted[h] with delays and abuses that plain dealing in denying to deal in suits at first, and reporting the success[i] barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable but also gracious[k]. In suits of favour[l], the first coming ought to take little place; so far forth consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other means, and in some sort recompensed for his discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a suit is simplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof is want of conscience. Secrecy in suits is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing them to be in forwardness may discourage some kind of suitors, but doth quicken and awake others: but timing of

[f] *without depraving or disabling*] i. e. without speaking ill of or depreciating. Lat. *abstineat saltem ab omni calumnia et maledicentia.* Conf. 'What? a thread-bare rascal! a beggar! . . . and he to deprave and abuse the virtue of an herb so generally received in the courts of princes.' Every Man in His Humour, iii. sc. 7. 'Scientiam dissimulando simulavit: for he used to disable his knowledge to the intent to enhance his knowledge.' Works, iii. 388.

[g] *his referendaries*] i. e. the persons to whom he refers the matter, as the context clearly shews.

[h] *distasted*] i.e. disgusted, offended. Conf. 'Those that find themselves obnoxious to Parliament will do all they can that those things which are likest to distaste the King be first handled.' Letters and Life, vii. 444.

[i] *the success*] i. e. the result, not necessarily favourable. Conf. 'All men know what lamentable success these two French kings found.' Ralegh, Hist. of World, bk. iv. chap. 2, sec. 3.

[k] *gracious*] i. e. agreeable or (as above) 'acceptable to suitors.' Lat. *gratiosa.*

[l] *In suits of favour*] These do not appear to differ from what are termed above suits of petition. The grammar of the sentence is somewhat obscure. 'His trust' introduces a pronoun with no antecedent noun. The noun must be found below, 'the party,' or supplied from the words just above, 'the first coming,' implying a first comer. For a like irregularity of construction, conf. 'The experience of age, in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them.' Essay 42.

the suit is the principal; timing I say not only in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean[m], rather choose the fittest mean than the greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain things than those that are general. The reparation of a denial[n] is sometimes equal to the first grant, if a man show himself neither dejected nor discontented. *Iniquum petas, ut aequum feras* is a good rule where a man hath strength of favour: but otherwise a man were better rise in his suit; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not in the conclusion lose both the suitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person as his letter; and yet, if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments than these general contrivers of suits; for they are but a kind of poison and infection to public proceedings.

Notes and Illustrations.

The remarks in this Essay apply almost entirely to the persons who are asked to forward suits—not to the ultimate authority with whom the decision of the matter will rest, but to the patron or undertaker or go-between to whom the suitor appeals to help him or to say a good word for him. Villiers, when he became James' first favourite, was so placed that suitors of all kinds would seek his help to gain them a favourable hearing from the King. 'No man thinks his business can prosper at Court, unless he hath you for his good angel, or at least that you be not a *Malus Genius* against him.'

[m] *choice of his mean*] i. e. of his patron or go-between. Lat. *cui petitionis tuae curam demandes.*

[n] *reparation of a denial*] This is very obscure. The Latin gives—*denegatae petitionis iteratio concessioni ipsi quandoque aequipollet.* I take the passage therefore to mean, that if a suitor, or suitor's friend, whose request has been previously denied, presses it afresh, and keeps a pleasant and cheerful face, he may succeed at last in obtaining what he asks, and the matter may thus proceed in the end as if he had been successful at first. It is clearly the suitor or the go-between, and not the person with whom the final decision rests, by whom the 'reparation' is to be made.

Letters and Life, vi. 15. We find, accordingly, in Bacon's Advice to Villiers, many of the rules laid down in the Essay. Conf. pp. 28, 29, 30, which make clear the general drift of the Essay, and the kind of position held by the persons to whom its advice mainly refers.

P. 337, l. 16. *suit of controversy*] This might be e. g. a chancery suit or claim at law, one of the parties in which sought help from his patron to influence the judge's decision. Such interference with the course of justice was not uncommon. Bacon carefully warns Villiers against it: 'By no means be you persuaded to interpose yourself, by word or letter, in any cause depending, or like to be depending, in any court of justice, nor suffer any man to do it where you can hinder it: and by all means dissuade the King himself from it, upon the importunity of any either for their friends or themselves.' Letters and Life, vi. 33. The warning was not taken. We have frequent instances of this kind of interposition on Villiers' part while Bacon held the Great Seal, pp. 273, 274. Conf. especially Mr. Heath's remarks 'on the interference of Buckingham in the case of Dr. Steward.' Vol. vii. pp. 579–588.

l. 17. *suit of petition*] e.g. for help towards obtaining some office for which there were other competitors in the field. Conf. Bacon's appeal to the then Lord Keeper to help him in his suit for the Solicitor-Generalship, in which the kind of 'right' spoken of in the Essay is pleaded in express terms: 'But now I desire no more favour of your Lordship than I would if I were a suitor in the Chancery, which is this only, that you would do me right.' Letters and Life, i. 365.

P. 338, l. 6. *plain dealing* &c.] Conf. Advice to Villiers: 'Believe it, Sir, next to the obtaining of the suit, a speedy and gentle denial (when the case will not bear it) is the most acceptable to suitors.' Letters and Life, vi. 29. And, 'Pars beneficii est quod petitur si bene negas.' Publius Syrus, Fragm. 89.

P. 339, l. 8. *Iniquum petas* &c.] 'Iniquum petendum, ut aequum feras.' Quintilian, De Instit. Orat. iv. cap. 5, sec. 16.

l. 11. *for he that would have ventured* &c.] Bacon in effect urges this argument in one of his early letters to Lord Burleigh: 'The amendment of state or countenance which I have received hath been from your Lordship. And therefore if your Lordship shall stand a good friend to your poor ally, you shall but proceed *tuendo opus proprium* which you have begun.' Letters and Life, i. 362. So, too, in a letter of request in the course of his canvass for the Solicitorship, written to Lord Keeper Puckering: 'Hereunto if there shall be joined your Lordship's obligation in dealing strongly for me as you have begun, no man can be more yours.' Ib. p. 293.

l. 16. *no worse instruments* &c.] These 'general contrivers of suits' must stand here for the would-be patentees or monopolists and their

undertakers, of whom he says in his Advice to Villiers: 'Especially care must be taken that monopolies (which are the canker of all trades) be by no means admitted under the pretence or the specious colour of the public good.' Letters and Life, vi. 49. As for the mischief caused by the too free granting of monopolies in James' time, conf. e.g. 'For proclamations and patents, they are now become so ordinary that there is no end, every day bringing forth some new project or other. In truth the world doth even groan under the burden of these perpetual patents.' Chamberlain to Carleton, July 8, 1620. 'The Parliament (of 1621) began to sit, whose bearing was dutiful to the King, but quick and minatory against some vile persons, who had spoil'd the people by illegal oppressions. These were Canker-worms, Harpies, Projectors who, between the easiness of the Lord Marquis to procure and the readiness of the Lord Chancellor Bacon to comply, had obtain'd Patent Commissions for latent knaveries.' Hacket's Life of Abp. Williams, Part I, p. 49. Conf. also Letters and Life, vii. 183 ff.

L.

OF STUDIES.

STUDIES serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight is in privateness and retiring; for ornament is in discourse; and for ability is in the judgment and disposition of business; for expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one: but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies is sloth; to use them too much for ornament is affectation; to make judgment wholly by their rules is the humour of a scholar: they perfect nature, and are perfected by experience: for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need proyning[a] by study; and

[a] *need proyning*] i. e. cultivating. Lat. *culturam et falcis artem desiderant.* *To proyn* or *proin* is the old form of *to prune* or *to preen*, a form, says

studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them; for they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them and above them, won by observation. Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested; that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read but not curiously[b], and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others; but that would be only in the less important arguments and the meaner sort of books; else distilled books are like common distilled waters, flashy things. Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man; and therefore, if a man write little he had need have a great memory; if he confer little he had need have a present wit; and if he read little he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise; poets, witty[c]; the mathematics, subtile; natural philosophy, deep; moral, grave; logic and rhetoric, able to contend: *Abeunt studia in mores;* nay, there is no stond or impediment[d] in the wit but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises; bowling is good for the stone and reins, shooting for the lungs and breast,

Nares, Glossary, 'very little used in the age of Elizabeth, but common before that time.' The old spelling has been preserved in the text, because the word is here used in the old sense = to tend, or cultivate, a sense not given by either the modern *prune* or *preen*.

[b] *not curiously*] i. e. not with careful and minute attention. Lat. *non multum temporis in iisdem evolvendis insumendum.*

[c] *witty*] Lat. *ingeniosos.*

[d] *stond or impediment*] The Latin gives *impedimentum aliquod insitum aut naturale* as the equivalent of both these words.

gentle walking for the stomach, riding for the head, and the like; so if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again; if his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences let him study the schoolmen; for they are *Cymini sectores*. If he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases: so every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

Notes and Illustrations.

Some cautions and recommendations on this subject are given in a discourse touching helps for the intellectual powers. Works, vii. 102. They are nearly the same as those in the Essay and in parts of Essay 38.

P. 341, l. 4. *expert men can* &c.] This whole subject—the advantages and disadvantages of learning, and the reasons that have laid men of learning open to censure and discredit—is handled at length in the Advancement of Learning. Works, iii. 264–282.

P. 342, l. 4. *they teach not their own use* &c.] Conf. 'Quae unquam ars docuit tempestivum artis usum?' Works, i. 698. And, 'Philosophantes his diebus, quando dicitur eis quod sciant perspectivam, aut geometriam, aut linguas et alia multa, quaerunt cum derisione "Quid valent haec?" asserentes quod inutilia sunt. . . . Utilitas enim illarum non traditur in eis, sed exterius expectatur.' R. Bacon, Opus tertium, cap. 6.

l. 16. *common distilled waters*] Conf. 'I would have her (the English house-wife) furnish herself of very good stills, for the distillation of all kinds of waters, which stills would either be of tinne or sweet earth, and in them she shall distill all sorts of waters meet for the health of her household, as Sage-water which is good for all rhumes and colics; Radish-water which is good for the stone; Angelica-water good for infection . . . and a world of others, any of which will last a full year at the least.' Gervase Markham, Country Contentments, bk. ii. The English Hus-wife, p. 79 (London, 1615).

l. 22. *poets witty*] Bacon writes more fully and more adequately on poetry in the Advancement of Learning, but he dismisses the subject finally with a touch of contempt: 'It is not good to stay too long in the theatre.' Works, iii. 343 ff. On his right thus to judge, and on the knowledge on which his judgment was based, conf.

'Dramatica autem Poesis, quae theatrum habet pro mundo, usu eximia est, si sana foret. Non parva enim esse posset theatri et disciplina et corruptela. Atque corruptelarum in hoc genere abunde est: disciplina plane nostris temporibus est neglecta. Attamen licet in rebuspublicis modernis habeatur pro re ludicra actio theatralis, nisi forte nimium trahat e satira et mordeat,' &c. Works, i. 519. This will hardly pass as an adequate criticism on e. g. Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello. The epithet which Bacon chooses in the Essay is that which Dryden assigns and enlarges upon as proper to the poet himself. Conf. 'The composition of all poems is, or ought to be, of wit; and wit in the poet, or wit-writing (if you will give me leave to use a school-distinction) is no other than the faculty of imagination in the writer, which, like a nimble spaniel, beats over and ranges through the field of memory 'till it springs the quarry it hunted after; or, without metaphor, which searches over all the memory for the species or ideas of those things which it designs to represent. Wit written is that which is well defined, the happy result of thought or product of imagination.' Dryden, Letter to Sir R. Howard, prefixed to the Annus Mirabilis.

l. 24. *Abeunt studia in mores*] Ovid, Heroides, xv. 83.

P. 343, l. 6. *Cymini sectores*] This phrase, 'cymini sector,' does not bear the sense which Bacon persistently puts upon it, in the text and elsewhere. It means a niggard. Conf. e. g. *Τούτων δὲ καὶ ὁ κυμινοπρίστης καὶ πᾶς ὁ τοιοῦτος· ὠνόμασται δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τοῦ μηθενὶ ἂν δοῦναι.* Eth. Nicom. iv. 1. And,

> *Κάλλιον, ὦ 'πιμελητὰ φιλάργυρε, τὸν φακὸν ἕψειν·*
> *Μὴ 'πιτάμῃς τὰν χεῖρα καταπρίων τὸ κύμινον.*
>
> Theocr. x. 54, 55.

'Cymini sector' (*κυμινοπρίστης*) was certainly a name of reproach given to Antoninus Pius. Bacon finds its origin in the Emperor's 'patience and settled spirit to enter into the least and most exact differences of causes.' Works, iii. 305. 'Antoninus subtilis et quasi scholasticus, unde etiam Cymini sector vocatus est.' i. 472. This is probably based on a misinterpretation of the habit of *ἀκριβολογία*, which Dion Cassius ascribes to Antoninus—*ὅθεν αὐτὸν οἱ σκώπτοντες καὶ κυμινοπρίστην ἐκάλουν.* Bk. lxx. 3. It was, of course, the minute care of Antoninus about the expenditure of public money which exposed him to this sneer from the disappointed courtiers and would-be parasites who would have found their advantage in the profuse ways of a less conscientious public steward. Conf. 'Provinciae sub eo cunctae floruerunt: quadruplatores extincti sunt. . . . Salaria multis subtraxit, quos otiosos videbat accipere, dicens Nihil esse sordidius, immo crudelius, quam si rempublicam is arroderet qui nihil in eam suo labore conferret.' Julius Capitolinus, Life of Antoninus Pius, sec. 7.

LI.

OF FACTION.

MANY have an opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate or for a great person to govern his proceedings according to the respect of factions, is a principal part of policy; whereas, contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is, either in ordering those things which are general, and wherein men of several[a] factions do nevertheless agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one. But I say not that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men in their rising must adhere; but great men, that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral: yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately as he be a man of the one faction which is most passable with the other commonly giveth best way[b]. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often seen that a few that are stiff do tire out a greater number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth; as the faction between Lucullus and the rest of the nobles of the senate (which they called *optimates*) held out a while against the faction of Pompey and Caesar; but when the senate's authority was pulled down, Caesar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavianus Caesar, against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time; but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then soon after Antonius and Octavianus brake and subdivided. These examples are of wars, but the same holdeth in private factions: and therefore, those that are seconds[c] in factions do many

[a] *several*] i. e. distinct or different. Lat. *diversarum*. Conf. 'Habits and faculties several and to be distinguished.' Essay 6.

[b] *giveth best way*] Lat. *viam quandam sternit ad honores*.

[c] *seconds*] i. e. inferiors.

times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals; but many times also they prove ciphers and cashiered; for many a man's strength is in opposition; and when that faileth, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen that men once placed take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter; thinking, belike, that they have the first sure, and now are ready for a new purchase[d]. The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it[e]; for when matters have stuck long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth them[f], and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly, in Italy they hold it a little suspect in popes, when they have often in their mouth *Padre commune;* and take it to be a sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house. Kings had need beware how they side themselves[g], and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the state are ever pernicious to monarchies; for they raise an obligation paramount to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king *tanquam unus ex nobis;* as was to be seen in the League of France. When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a sign of weakness

[d] *a new purchase*] i. e. a new acquisition. Lat. *ad amicos novos conciliandos.* Conf. 'The purchases of our own industry are joined commonly with labour and strife.' Works, vii. 89, and *passim.*

[e] *lightly goeth away with it*] i. e. usually comes off the gainer. Lat. *plerumque rem obtinet.* French *facilement emporte le prix.* For lightly, conf. 'The great thieves of a state are lightly the officers of the crown.' Ben Jonson, Discoveries, under heading Fures Publici. 'Lightly some place will be found that is defended very weakly.' Ralegh, Hist. of World, bk. iv. chap. 2, sec. 3.

'Short summers lightly have a forward spring.'

Richard III, act iii. sc. i.

The indefinite use of 'it,' referring to no noun, is too common to need illustration.

[f] *casteth them*] i. e. makes one of the scales to incline. Conf. 'How much interest casts the balance in cases dubious, I could give sundry instances.' South, Sermon on Matth. x. 33.

[g] *how they side themselves*] i. e. how they take sides. Lat. *cavendum est ne factioni alicui se ex professo adjungant.* Conf. 'If there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed.' Essay 11.

in princes, and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under kings ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak) of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of *primum mobile.*

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 345, l. 9. *Mean men in their rising must adhere*] Conf. 'Duo igitur cum sint ascendendi in republica modi . . . . Alter ut in eodem genere magno viro adhaereamus, medicus medico, dux duci, civis civi.' Cardan, De Sapientia, p. 153 (ed. 1543, 4°.)

P. 346, l. 12. *end to make use of both*] Conf. 'He (King James) tutored his son, the Prince, that he should not take part with a faction in either House, but so reserve himself that both sides might seek him.' Hacket, Life of Abp. Williams, Part I. 190.

l. 17. *Kings had need beware* &c.] 'Howbeit, that sometimes it happeneth the sovereigne prince to make himself a party instead of holding the place of a sovereigne Judge: in which doing for all that he shall be no more but the head of one party, and so undoubtedly put himself in danger of his life, and that especially when such dangerous seditions and factions be not grounded upon matters directly touching his estate.' Bodin, Commonweal, iv. cap. 7.

l. 21. *tanquam unus ex nobis.*] Genesis iii. 22. The Vulgate gives 'Ecce Adam quasi unus ex nobis factus est.' But this text speaks of an inferior raised to an equality with those above him, not of a superior brought down to the level of those under him.

l. 22. *in the League of France*] Conf. note on Essay 15, p. 104.

P. 347, l. 3. *motions of the inferior orbs*] Conf. note on Essay 15, p. 104.

LII.

OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.

He that is only real had need have exceeding great parts of virtue; as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil[a]; but if a man mark it well, it is in praise

[a] *foil*] i. e. a thin leaf of metal placed under the stone to improve its colour and lustre. The Latin, *sine ornamento omni*, does not express this, and spoils the metaphor.

and commendation of men as it is in gettings and gains: for the proverb is true, *That light gains make heavy purses;* for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then: so it is true that small matters win great commendation, because they are continually in use and in note: whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on festivals[b]. Therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as Queen Isabella said) *like perpetual letters commendatory*, to have good forms; to attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them; for so shall a man observe them in others; and let him trust himself with the rest; for if he labour too much to express them he shall lose their grace, which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured; how can a man comprehend great matters that breaketh[c] his mind too much to small observations? Not to use ceremonies at all is to teach others not to use them again; and so diminisheth respect to himself; especially they be not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures; but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks; and certainly, there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting passages[d] amongst compliments, which is of singular use if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a man's peers a man shall be sure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep state; amongst a man's inferiors one shall be sure of reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in anything, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety, maketh himself cheap. To apply one's self[e] to others is good; so it be

[b] *on festivals*] Lat. *raro admodum.*

[c] *breaketh*] i. e. subdues, forces his mind to submit. Lat. *se submittit.*

[d] *imprinting passages*] i. e. passages that imprint themselves on the mind of him to whom they are addressed. Lat. *qui homines revera inescat.*

[e] *to apply one's self to* &c.] The exact sense of this phrase, and the limits within which the practice may be

with demonstration that a man doth it upon regard[f], and not upon facility. It is a good precept, generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of one's own: as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow[g] his counsel, let it be with alleging further reason. Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments; for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute, to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in business to be too full of respects[h], or to be too curious in observing times and opportunities. Salomon saith, *He that considereth the wind shall not sow, and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap.* A wise man will make more opportunities than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too strait or point device[i], but free for exercise or motion.

pronounced 'good,' are shewn clearly by a passage in the Adv. of Learning. 'Another fault incident commonly to learned men . . . is that they fail sometimes in applying themselves to particular persons,' a phrase presently explained as = 'dwelling in the exquisite observation or examination of the nature and customs of one person,' with the intention *inter alia* 'to understand him sufficiently whereby not to give him offence.' Works, iii. p. 279.

[f] *upon regard*] i. e. through a personal regard (real or affected), and not through mere softness of nature and a general desire to please.

[g] *allow*] i. e. approve, so *passim*.

[h] *to be too full of respects*] Lat. *si quis formulas nimium affectet.*

[i] *point device*] i. e. very precisely fashioned. Lat. *nimis concinni.* The phrase, whatever its origin, is used elsewhere in the same sense as in the Essay. Conf.

'Her nose was wrought at point devys,
For it was gentyl and tretys.'
Romaunt of the Rose, l. 1215.

'Then your hose should be ungartered, your bonnet unbanded, your sleeve unbuttoned, your shoe untied, and every thing about you demonstrating a careless desolation. But you are no such man; you are rather point device in your accoutrements.' As You Like It, iii. 2. We find device (or devise) used adjectivally = precise, exact, in a passage in the Coventry Mysteries:—

'Better it is to telle the trewthe devise,
Than God for to greve and of him be gramyd.'

Trial of Joseph and Mary, p. 141 (ed. of 1841, printed for the Shakespeare Society). So too in Ben Jonson, if the conjectural reading is accepted:—

'Kastril. You will not come then? punk devise, my suster!
Ananias. Call her not sister: She's a harlot verily.'—Alchemist, v. 3.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 348, l. 8. *as Queen Isabella said* &c.] Lat. *Isabella regina Castiliana.* Conf. 'La reyna doña Ysabel dezia, que el, que tenia buen gesto, llevava carta de recomendacion.' Tuningius, Apophthegmata (ed. 1609); Hispanica, p. 65. The Apophthegmata are in five languages, each separately paged.

Bacon, it will be seen, has changed the saying to suit the subject of his Essay. 'Buen gesto' is not 'good forms,' but 'good looks.' So interpreted, it is of much earlier date. Conf. 'Pulchritudinem dicebat (Aristoteles) quavis epistola efficaciorem ad commendationem. Sunt qui hoc asscribant Diogeni.' Erasmus, Apophthegmata, lib. vii. 'Formosa facies muta commendatio est.' Publius Syrus, Fragmenta. Bacon gives the saying much as in the text, in his own list of Apophthegms. 'Queen Isabell of Spain used to say: Whosoever hath a good presence and a good fashion, carries (continual) letters of recommendation.' Works, vii. 139.

P. 349, l. 12. *Salomon saith*] Eccles. xi. 4. Conf. 'There is no greater impediment of action than an over-curious observance of decency, and the guide of decency which is time and season. For as Salomon sayeth, *Qui respicit ad ventos non seminat: et qui respicit ad nubes, non metet:* a man must make his opportunity as oft as find it. To conclude: Behaviour seemeth to me as a garment of the mind, and to have the conditions of a garment. For it ought to be made in fashion: it ought not to be too curious . . . and above all it ought not to be too strait or restrained for exercise or motion.' Works, iii. 447.

LIII.

OF PRAISE.

Praise is the reflection of virtue; but it is as the glass or body which giveth the reflection. If it be from the common people, it is commonly false and naught, and rather followeth vain persons[a] than virtuous: for the common people understand not many excellent virtues: the lowest virtues draw praise from them, the middle

[a] *vain persons*] i. e. persons possessed only of the shows and *species virtutibus similes*, of which Bacon presently speaks.

virtues work in them astonishment or admiration; but of the highest virtues they have no sense or perceiving at all; but shows and *species virtutibus similes* serve best with them. Certainly, fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things weighty and solid; but if persons of quality and judgment concur, then it is (as the Scripture saith), *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis;* it filleth all round about, and will not easily away; for the odours of ointments are more durable than those of flowers. There be so many false points of praise that a man may justly hold it a suspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes which may serve every man; if he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer which is a man's self, and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most: but if he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to perforce, *spretâ conscientiâ.* Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, *laudando praecipere;* when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be; some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them; *Pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium;* insomuch as it was a proverb amongst the Grecians that *he that was praised to his hurt should have a push*[b] *rise upon his nose;* as we say *that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie.* Certainly moderate praise, used with opportunity and not vulgar[c], is that which doth the good.

[b] *a push*] i. e. a pustule. Lat. *pustulam.* In Barrough's Method of Physick, bk. v, this unlovely word occurs some scores of times in the sense here given to it.

[c] *not vulgar*] The exact sense of this is shewn clearly in the corresponding passage in the ed. of 1612—'not vulgar, but appropriate.' Works vi. 582.

Salomon saith, *He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a curse.* Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction and procure envy and scorn. To praise a man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases; but to praise a man's office or profession, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The cardinals of Rome, which are theologues and friars and schoolmen, have a phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business; for they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, *sbirrerie*, which is under-sheriffries, as if they were but matters for under-sheriffs and catchpoles; though many times those under-sheriffries do more good than their high speculations. St. Paul, when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace *I speak like a fool;* but speaking of his calling he saith, *Magnificabo apostolatum meum.*

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 351, l. 4. *fame is like a river*] This is a favourite argument, or simile used as an argument, with Bacon. He employs it to explain how it is that the philosophical writings of the early Greek schools have been lost, while the later, and in his opinion the less valuable ones, have come down to us—'tempore, ut fluvio, leviora et magis inflata ad nos devehente, graviora et solida mergente.' Nov. Org. bk. i. 71. He presently repeats it in the 77th Axiom: 'Philosophiae Aristotelis et Platonis, tanquam tabulae ex materia leviore et minus solida, per fluctus temporis servatae sunt.' Conf. also Works, iii. 292 and 503, and i. 460.

l. 7. *the Scripture*] This should be: 'Melius est nomen bonum quam unguenta preciosa.' Eccl. vii. 2 in the Vulgate; verse 1 in the Authorized Version. This part of the Essay seems intended to take up and enlarge upon the opening words of the Dedication.

l. 13. *certain common attributes*] So, in Essay 57, we find the nothingness of *communia maledicta* contrasted with the extreme bitterness of words aculeate and proper.

l. 17. *if he be an impudent flatterer*] Conf. e.g. Bacon's praise of his Majesty's manner of speech as 'indeed prince-like, flowing as from a fountain, full of facility and felicity, imitating none and

inimitable by any.' Works, iii. 262, and again Letters and Life, vii. 172, and contrast this with the description (in Green's Hist. of English People, bk. vii. cap. 3) of James' gabble and rhodomontade, his slobbering tongue, his want of personal dignity, &c., &c. Macaulay adds his provincial Scotch accent: 'the full dialect of his country,' as Bacon himself terms it in a letter to the Earl of Northumberland. Letters and Life, iii. 77. Conf. also in the Epistle Dedicatory to the Essays (1625) addressed to the Duke of Buckingham: 'A good name is as a precious ointment, and I assure myself such will your Grace's name be with posterity.' Of mere cunning flattery, such as e.g. Bacon's admiring language about James as the modern Solomon, the instances are too frequent to need special reference.

l. 22. *laudando praecipere*] The reference is to the younger Pliny; his words are: 'Officium consulatus injunxit mihi ut rei publicae nomine principi gratias agerem. Quod ego in senatu cum ad rationem et loci et temporis ex more fecissem, bono civi convenientissimum credidi eadem illa spatiosius et uberius volumine amplecti; primum, ut imperatori nostro virtutes suae veris laudibus commendarentur; deinde, ut futuri principes non quasi a magistro, sed tamen sub exemplo praemonerentur qua potissimum via possent ad eandem gloriam niti. Nam praecipere qualis esse debeat princeps pulchrum quidem, sed onerosum ac prope superbum est; laudare vero optimum principem ac per hoc posteris velut e specula lumen quod sequantur ostendere idem utilitatis habet, adrogantiae nihil.' Epist. iii. 18. But there are some distinctions worth notice between this praise and such as Bacon was in the habit of lavishing. It was in the discharge of an official duty that it was bestowed. It was not resorted to as a means of gaining favour or place or money. Pliny expressly says that he refrained from it until his position was absolutely secure: 'Designatus ego consul omni hac etsi non adulatione specie tamen adulationis abstinui.' Epist. vi. 27. Finally, it was bestowed not on James or Buckingham or on any one at all resembling them, but on Trajan; and it was bestowed by one who had given early and ample proof that he dared to blame and oppose the most powerful personages in the state, and whose praise therefore had good warrant that it was genuine.

l. 26. *Pessimum genus* &c.] This should be: 'Pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes.' Tacitus, Agric. 41.

l. 28. *he that was praised to his hurt* &c.] The belief was not that the person praised had a push rise upon his nose, but that the person praising so suffered, if he bestowed praise untruly. Vide Theoc. xii. 23, 24: *ἐγὼ δὲ σὲ τὸν καλὸν αἰνέων ψεύδεα ῥινὸς ὕπερθεν ἀραιῆς οὐκ ἀναφύσω*, i.e. By praising thee, the beautiful, I shall not raise pimples (*ψεύδεα*) on my slender nose (or on the point or end of my nose), such pimples being the punishment of the liar, not of the

person falsely praised. A scholium on the passage has: *ψεύδεα, τὰ εἰς τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥινὸς φυόμενα ψυδράκια, ἐξ ὧν τοὺς ψευδολόγους τεκμαίρονται.* Conf. also Theoc. ix. 30: *μή κεν ἐπὶ γλώσσας ἄκρας ὀλοφυγγόνα φύσω* (by committing a fraud). I am indebted to Professor Jebb for the substance of this note.

P. 352, l. 1. *Salomon saith*] Prov. xxvii. 14. Quoted and greatly amplified in the De Aug. Scient. Works, i. 768.

l. 11. *sbirrerie*] The Latin prefixes *Hispanico vocabulo* to this word. It is, of course, not Spanish, but formed from the Italian *sbirro*, a constable. It is not the only instance of a curious confusion of Spanish and Italian; 'Mi venga la muerte de Spagna,' occurs in Essay 25: and it deserves notice, since there is reason to believe that the Latin version of this Essay was done under Bacon's own supervision. The English, it will be observed, in all this part, has a note of scorn which the Latin does not repeat. *Matters for under-sheriffs and catchpoles* becomes *munera lictorum et scribarum.* That many times these under-sheriffries do more good than the high speculations of the cardinals is softened down into: *Et tamen, si res rite ponderetur, speculativa cum civilibus non male miscentur.* Now a translator would hardly have ventured on such changes as these without having Bacon's authority for them. They are in Bacon's manner elsewhere, e. g. in the Advancement of Learning, in speaking of the Jesuits, he says: 'Of whom though in regard of their superstition I may say, *quo meliores eo deteriores*, yet,' &c. Mr. Spedding here notes that the above words are omitted in the corresponding passage in the De Augmentis Scientiarum, no doubt as offensive to the Roman Catholics. The motive, he says, is explained in the letter sent by Bacon to the King along with the De Augmentis: 'I have been also mine own Index Expurgatorius, that it may be read in all places. For since my end of putting it into Latin was to have it read everywhere, it had been an absurd contradiction to free it in the language and to pen it up in the matter.' There are, Mr. Spedding adds, various other passages in which a like change has been made. Conf. Works, iii. 277, and i. 445. So too, and seemingly for a like reason, in the Italian version of Essay 13—a version known to Bacon—'One of the doctors of Italy, Nicholas Macciavel,' is transformed into—'Quel empio Nicolo Machiavello.' It may be argued, therefore, that the Latin version of the Essay, in which there are expurgations of the same kind, was made under Bacon's eye.

l. 13. *catchpoles*] Catchepolle, according to Cowell, 'though it be now used as a word of contempt, yet in auncient times it seemeth to have been used without reproch for such as we now call sergeants of the mace or any other that use to arrest men upon any cause.' Interpreter, *sub voce* (date 1607).

l. 16. *I speak like a fool*] 2 Corinth. xi. 23.

l. 17. *Magnificabo* &c.] Romans xi. 13.

LIV.

OF VAIN GLORY.

It was prettily devised of Aesop, *The fly sat upon the axletree of the chariot-wheel and said, what a dust do I raise.* So are there some vain persons that, whatsoever goeth alone or moveth upon greater means, if they have never so little hand in it they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious[a] must needs be factious; for all bravery[b] stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent to make good their own vaunts; neither can they be secret and therefore not effectual; but according to the French proverb *Beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit;—much bruit, little fruit.* Yet certainly there is use of this quality in civil affairs: where there is an opinion and fame to be created, either of virtue or greatness, these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth in the case of Antiochus and the Aetolians, *there are sometimes great effects of cross lies;* as if a man that negotiates between two princes, to draw them to join in a war against the third, doth extol the forces of either of them[c] above measure, the one to the other: and sometimes he that deals between man and man raiseth his own credit with both by pretending greater interest than he hath in either; and in these and the like kinds it often falls out that somewhat is produced of nothing; for lies are sufficient to breed

[a] *glorious*] i. e. ostentatious, boastful. Lat. *gloriosi*. Conf. 'Glorious followers who make themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those they follow.' Essay 48. This simile is repeated below.

[b] *bravery*] Lat. *ostentatio*. The remark seems to mean that, if boastful men are members of a party in the state, they will be ever on the watch to exalt their own party as superior to its rivals or opponents. So, in the Antitheta: 'Gloriosi semper factiosi, mendaces, mobiles, nimii.' Works, i. 696.

[c] *of either of them*] i. e. of each of them, as the words immediately following show. The Latin gives, very clearly, *veluti cum quis . . . unius copias apud alterum supra modum et veritatem vicissim attollat.* Conf. 'Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either sort (i. e. one of each sort).' Essay 30.

opinion, and opinion brings on substance. In military commanders and soldiers, vain glory is an essential point; for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory one courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great enterprise upon charge and adventure[d], a composition of glorious natures doth put life into business; and those that are of solid and sober natures have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning, the flight will be slow without some feathers of ostentation: *Qui de contemnendâ gloriâ libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt.* Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men full of ostentation: certainly vain glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory; and virtue was never so beholding[e] to human nature as it received his due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her age so well if it had not been joined with some vanity in themselves; like unto varnish, that makes seelings[f] not only shine but last. But all this while, when I speak of vain glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus, *Omnium quae dixerat feceratque, arte quâdam ostentator:* for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion; and, in some persons, is not only comely, but gracious: for excusations, cessions[g], modesty itself well governed, are but arts of ostentation; and amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus

[d] *upon charge and adventure*] Lat. *quae sumptibus et periculo privatorum suscipiuntur.*

[e] *beholding*] i. e. beholden, a form in constant use. 'As,' here and elsewhere *passim*, = that. This very obscure sentence seems to mean:—Virtue never received its just meed of praise from any other than from its possessor, and it is never, therefore, under an obligation to other people for thus duly praising it. Lat. *Neque virtus ipsa tantum humanae naturae debet, propter nominis sui celebrationem, quantum sibi ipsi.*

[f] *seelings*] i. e. wainscotings or floorings. Lat. *ligna.* Cotgrave, Dictionary, gives *lambris*, and *menuiserie*, as the French equivalents. The old spelling has been retained, as the modern form, 'ceilings,' has come to be used too exclusively for the inner roof, and would suggest therefore a sense improper to the text.

[g] *cessions*] Lat. *concessiones tempestivae.* The French *cessions de place* does not give the full sense. A show of yielding to the judgment or opinion of another is more probably what Bacon means.

speaketh of, which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection: for, saith Pliny very wittily, *In commending another you do yourself right; for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior: if he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more; if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less.* Glorious men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites[h], and the slaves of their own vaunts. 10

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 355, l. 1. *The fly sat* &c.] 'What a dust do I raise! says the Fly upon the Coach-wheel: and what a rate do I drive at! says the same Fly again upon the Horse's Buttock.' L'Estrange, Fables of Aesop and others, cclxx. The above fable is assigned by L'Estrange to Abstemius.

l. 14. *Titus Livius noteth*] Bacon seems to be referring to the arguments addressed to various Greek states, to induce them to make war upon the Romans, through trust in the power of Antiochus; and addressed to Antiochus to induce him to enter on the affair, through trust in the help he would receive from the concurrent movement of the Aetolians, and of the others who had been stimulated through trust in him. Vide Bk. xxxv. caps. 12 and 17–18.

P. 356, l. 9. *Qui de contemnenda* &c.] Loosely and inappositely quoted from Cicero, Tusc. Disp. lib. i. cap. 15: 'Quid nostri philosophi? nonne in his ipsis libris, quos scribunt de contemnenda gloria, nomina sua inscribunt?'

l. 10. *Socrates*] Bacon seems to be repeating here the erroneous judgment, which he expresses more fully in the Advancement of Learning: 'Scientiam dissimulando simulavit, for he used to disable his knowledge to the intent to enhance his knowledge.' Works, iii. 388.

Aristotle] Conf. 'Aristotle . . . . came with a professed contradiction to all the world, and did put all his opinions upon his own authority and argument, and never so much as nameth an author but

[h] *idols of parasites*] Lat. *parasitis praedae et escae.* That this is Bacon's meaning is clear from the Antitheta, on Gloria Vana. Conf. 'Thraso Gnathonis praeda,' Works, i. 696, and Terence, Eunuchus, last scene, 'Hunc comedendum et deridendum vobis propino,' &c.

to confute and reprove him.' Works, iii. 502. Aristotle's frequent dialectical passages fairly bear out these and other like remarks. As an estimate of Aristotle they are, of course, simply farcical.

Galen.] In proof of Galen's ostentation, conf. e. g. the De Praenotione ad Posthumum, where he gives various detailed accounts of the wonderful cures which he had made, and remarks on the incompetence and jealousy of the rest of the medical profession. In cap 9, he speaks of his departure from Rome; the precautions he took to avoid its being interfered with; and the general consternation when the fact of his absence became known at court, *γενομένου δὲ λόγου περὶ τῶν ἔργοις οὐ λόγοις ἐπιδεικνυμένων ἰατρικήν τε καὶ φιλοσοφίαν, οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν περὶ αὐτοὺς ὠνόμαζον ἐμὲ τοιοῦτον ὑπάρχειν.* He then tells how he was consequently recalled by express imperial mandate (Paris, folio ed., 1679). The above fairly represents the general tone of Galen's writings about himself. It is the self-assertion of a man who has a genuine belief in himself and in his own powers.

l. 14. *Cicero*] Cicero's vanity is indisputable. That it has helped his fame is not so clear.

> 'O fortunatam natam me consule Romam.
> Antonî gladios potuit contemnere si sic
> Omnia dixisset.' Juvenal, Sat. x. 122.

Seneca] Seneca's good opinion of himself, and his firm belief that 'we are the wise,' can be seen in his writings *passim*. Conf. e. g. Ep. vii. and viii., where the marked distinction between the author and the rest of mankind is most clearly insisted upon.

l. 15. *Plinius Secundus*] The name Secundus is common to both Plinies. Bacon must be understood here to be speaking of the younger Pliny, as in the more distinct reference a few lines below. His Epistles contain frequent proofs of what Bacon stigmatizes as some vanity, certainly of an assertive self-respect, not offensive, not over-bearing, not undignified, but ample and very clearly marked. Conf. e. g. 'Frequenter agenti mihi evenit ut centumviri, cum diu se intra judicum auctoritatem gravitatemque tenuissent, omnes repente quasi victi coactique consurgerent laudarentque; frequenter e senatu famam, qualem maxime optaveram, rettuli: nunquam tamen majorem cepi voluptatem quam nuper ex sermone Corneli Taciti. . . . . An, si Demosthenes jure laetatus est quod illum anus Attica ita noscitavit, *οὗτός ἐστι Δημοσθένης*, ego celebritate nominis mei gaudere non debeo? Ego vero et gaudeo, et gaudere me dico.' Epist. ix. 23. He writes to a friend about one of his speeches: 'Sunt multa (non auderem nisi tibi dicere) elata, multa pugnacia, multa subtilia . . . . . Dedimus vela indignationi, dedimus irae, &c. In summa, solent quidam ex contubernalibus nostris existimare hanc orationem, iterum dicam, ut inter meas, *ὡς ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος* esse; an vere tu facillime judicabis.' Ep.

vi. 33. Lamenting the death of Verginius Rufus he says,—'Ille mihi tutor relictus adfectum parentis exhibuit. Sic candidatum me suffragio ornavit; sic ad omnes honores meos ex secessibus accucurrit, cum jam pridem ejusmodi officiis renuntiasset: sic illo die quo sacerdotes solent nominare quos dignissimos sacerdotio judicant me semper nominavit.' Ep. ii. 1.

l. 19. *Mucianus*] 'Omnium quae diceret atque ageret arte quadam ostentator.' Hist. ii. 80.

l. 25. *none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of*] This is put much too absolutely. Pliny is speaking of a private reading or recitation, which the company had received with marked silence and with no single sign of applause. This conduct he characterizes as insolent, and ill-mannered and offensive; and he suggests that the hearers, whether inferior or equal or superior to the reciting author, could have lost nothing by a more polite behaviour. His rule for the occasion is—'Sive plus sive minus sive idem praestas, lauda vel inferiorem vel superiorem vel parem: superiorem, quia, nisi laudandus ille non potes ipse laudari: inferiorem aut parem, quia pertinet ad tuam gloriam quam maximum videri quem praecedis vel exaequas. Pliny, Epist. vi. 17. On the rule, as Bacon lays it down with approval, conf. 'Every one of us ought most fully and warily to look unto ourselves, when we praise any one, that the said praises be pure and sincere, void of suspicion, that we do not respect and aim at an oblique self-love and speech of our own selves.' Plutarch, Morals, p. 255.

LV.

OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

THE winning[a] of honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage; for some in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired: and some, contrariwise, darken their virtue

[a] *The winning* &c.] 'The true winning of honour' is the reading of the unpublished MS. of 1612, quoted by Mr. Aldis Wright. This agrees with the Latin, *Honoris et existimationis vera et jure optimo acquisitio ea est: ut quis*, &c., and it agrees with the drift of the Essay, for Bacon is contrasting the true winning of honour with the undue seeking and affecting it on the one hand and with the insufficient regard to it on the other.

in the show of it; so as they be undervalued in opinion. If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been achieved but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase[b] more honour than by effecting a matter of greater difficulty or virtue wherein he is but a follower. If a man so temper his actions as in some one of them he doth content every faction or combination of people, the music will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband of his honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can honour him. Honour that is gained and broken upon another[c] hath the quickest reflection, like diamonds cut with facets; and therefore let a man contend to excel any competitors of his in honour, in outshooting them, if he can, in their own bow. Discreet followers and servants help much to reputation: *Omnis fama a domesticis emanat.* Envy, which is the canker of honour, is best extinguished by declaring a man's self in his ends rather to seek merit than fame: and by attributing a man's successes rather to divine providence and felicity than to his own virtue or policy. The true marshalling of the degrees of sovereign honour are these: in the first place are *conditores imperiorum, founders of states and commonwealths;* such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Caesar, Ottoman, Ismael: in the second place are *legislatores, lawgivers;* which are also called *second founders* or *perpetui principes,* because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone; such were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Edgar, Alphonsus of Castile the Wise that made the *Siete Partidas:* in the third place are *liberatores* or *salva-*

[b] *purchase*] i. e. acquire. Lat. *adipiscetur.* Conf. 'There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake; but thereby to purchase himself profit or pleasure or honour or the like.' Essay 4, and note on passage.

[c] *broken upon another*] This questionable metaphor is avoided in the Latin, *honor qui comparativus est et alium praegravat, reflexionem habet maxime vividam.*

tores, such as compound the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants; as Augustus Caesar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, King Henry the Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France: in the fourth place are *propagatores* or *propugnatores imperii*, such as in honourable wars enlarge their territories or make noble defence against invaders; and, in the last place are *patres patriae*, which reign justly and make the times good wherein they live; both which last kinds need no examples, they are in such number. Degrees of honour in subjects are, first *participes curarum*[d], those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs; their *right hands*, as we call them; the next are *duces belli, great leaders;* such as are princes' lieutenants and do them notable services in the wars: the third are *gratiosi, favourites;* such as exceed not this scantling[e], to be solace to the sovereign and harmless to the people: and the fourth, *negotiis pares;* such as have great places under princes, and execute their places with sufficiency. There is an honour likewise which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which happeneth rarely; that is, of such as sacrifice themselves to death or danger for the good of their country; as was M. Regulus, and the two Decii.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

P. 360, l. 13. *like diamonds cut with facets*] For honour so gained presents numerous points to the imagination. On the whole passage conf.

> 'Percy is but my factor, good my lord,
> To engross up glorious deeds on my behalf;
> And I will call him to so strict account
> That he shall render every glory up.'
>
> 1 Henry IV, act iii. sc. 2.

And Bacon's private notes and rules for his own guidance. 'To

[d] *participes curarum*] Vide note on Essay 27, p. 193.

[e] *scantling*] i. e. measure. Lat. *qui non ultra hoc potes sunt.* French *cette proportion.* Conf. 'I saie that the sworde of the targetiers, in regard of the use of that weapon, ought to be of a very short scantling.' Edmundes, Obs. on Caesar's Comment. lib. ii. cap. 10, obs. 2.

winne credit comparate to ye Att(orney) in being more short, round and resolute.' Letters and Life, iv. p. 46. And again, 'To have in mynd and use ye Att. weakness.' p. 50. Further on we find a list of 'Hubb disadvant,' i. e. the points in which Sir Henry Hobart, the Attorney-General, was most weak and most laid himself open to the use which Bacon purposed to make of him. p. 92.

l. 17. *Omnis fama*] 'Nam fere omnis sermo ad forensem famam a domesticis emanat auctoribus.' Q. Cicero, de petitione consulatûs, cap. 5.

l. 18. *best extinguished*] So in Essay 40: 'All wise men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune.'

l. 23. *in the first place are* &c.] This first degree of honour is assigned by Bacon in a two-fold sense to King James: 'It seemeth God hath reserved to your Majesty's times two works, which amongst the acts of Kings have the supreme preeminence; the union and the plantation of kingdoms. For although it be a great fortune for a king to deliver or recover his kingdom from long continued calamities; yet in the judgment of those that have distinguished of the degrees of sovereign honour, to be a founder of estates or kingdoms excelleth all the rest.... Of which foundations there being but two kinds, the first that maketh one of more, the second that makes one of none,... it hath pleased the divine providence in singular favour to your Majesty, to put both these kinds of foundations or regenerations into your hand: the one in the union of the island of Britain, the other in the plantation of great and noble parts of the island of Ireland.' Letters and Life, iv. 116.

On 'the judgment of those that have distinguished of the degrees of sovereign honour,' conf. 'Amongst all commendable men, those deserve esteem in the first place, who have taken care in laying the grounds of divine worship, and true Religion: the next belongs to them who have been the founders of Commonwealths or Kingdoms. After those are they famous that commanding over armies have enlarged either their kingdom or country. To these we may adjoin learned men. And because they are of different dignities, every one of them are valued according to their degree. And to all other men, whose number is infinite, we use to give that share of commendations which their art and skill deserves.'

'And truly a Prince aiming at Glory, would wish to be Lord of a disordered City, not to ruin it wholly as did Cæsar, but to recompose and restore it, as Romulus. And believe me the heavens cannot give men greater occasion of glory, nor men desire it.' Machiavelli, Discourses on Livy, bk. i. cap. 10.

Bacon's division in the Novum Organum is not that which he adopts in the Essay. Conf. 'Primo itaque videtur inventorum

nobilium introductio inter actiones humanas longe primas partes tenere: id quod antiqua saecula judicaverunt. Ea enim rerum inventoribus divinos honores tribuerunt: iis autem qui in rebus civilibus merebantur (quales erant urbium et imperiorum conditores, legislatores, patriarum a diuturnis malis liberatores, tyrannidum debellatores, et his similes) heroum tantum honores decreverunt. Atque certe si quis ea recte conferat, justum hoc prisci saeculi judicium reperiet.' His reasons for this judgment follow. Works, i. 221.

l. 25. *Ottoman*] 'Othman, or according to the Oriental orthography, Osman, is regarded as the founder of the Ottoman Empire; and it is from him that the Turks, who inhabit it, call themselves Osmanlis, the only national appellation which they recognise. His banner and his sabre are still preserved in the treasury of the empire; and the martial ceremony of girding on that sabre is the solemn rite, analogous to the coronations of Christendom, by which the Turkish Sultans are formally invested with sovereign power. Othman is commonly termed the first Sultan of his race; but neither he nor his two immediate successors assumed more than the title of Emir. He had, at the time of his death, reigned as an independent Emir twenty-seven years, and had been chief of his tribe for thirty-nine years of his life of sixty-eight. (A.D. 1288–1326.) His career fully displays the buoyant courage, the subtle watchfulness, the resolute decision, the strong common sense, and the power of winning and wielding the affections and energies of other men, which are the usual attributes of the founders of empires.' Creasy, Hist. of the Ottoman Turks, cap. 1.

Ismael] 'Shah Ismail was the first of the Suffavean monarchs. . . . We are informed of no particulars of his life till he had attained the age of fourteen, when (A.D. 1499) he put himself at the head of his adherents, and marched against the great enemy of his family, the ruler of Shirwan, whom he defeated.' After a series of like successes, each of them adding some new district to the provinces under his rule, he became in less than four years 'the acknowledged sovereign of the kingdom of Persia.... It would be tedious to enter into a minute detail of the actions of Ismail. He was occupied, for some years after he ascended the throne, in subjugating those provinces of Persia which continued to resist his authority. When that object was accomplished he attacked and took Bagdad and its surrounding territories, &c.... The Persians dwell with rapture on the character of Ismail, whom they deem not only the founder of a great dynasty, but the person to whom that faith, in which they glory, owes its establishment as a national religion.' Malcolm, Hist. of Persia, vol. i. cap. 14.

l. 28. *Lycurgus, Solon.*] Bacon mentions these, joining Minos with them, in his proposition to the King on the amendment of the

laws of England. 'For the laws of Lycurgus, Solon, Minos, and others of ancient time, they are not the worse because grammar scholars speak of them.'

Justinian] 'Justinian the Emperor, by commissions directed to divers persons learned in the laws, reduced the Roman laws from vastness of volume and a labyrinth of uncertainties, unto that course of the civil law which is now in use.'

l. 29. *Edgar*] 'Edgar the Saxon King, collected the laws of this kingdom, and gave them the strength of a faggot bound, which formerly were dispersed.' Letters and Life, vi. 66. 'Eadgar was only a boy of fourteen, and throughout his reign the actual direction of affairs lay in the hands of Dunstan, whose elevation to the see of Canterbury set him at the head of the Church as of the State. The noblest tribute to his rule lies in the silence of our chroniclers. His work indeed was a work of settlement, and such a work was best done by the simple enforcement of peace. During the years of rest in which the stern hand of the primate enforced justice and order, Northman and Englishman drew together into a single people.... The same vigorous rule, which secured rest for the country during these years of national union, told on the growth of material prosperity. Commerce sprang into a wider life.... The laws of Aethelred, which provide for the protection and regulation of foreign trade, only recognise a state of things which grew up under Eadgar.' Green, Hist. of English People, bk. i. chap. 4.

Alphonsus &c.] 'This last great work was undertaken by Alfonso in 1256 and finished either in 1263 or 1265. It was originally called by Alfonso himself "El Setenario," from the title of the code undertaken by his father, but it is now called "Las Siete Partidas," or the seven parts, from the seven divisions of the work itself.... Though by far the most important legislative monument of its age, (it) did not at once become the law of the land. It was not till 1348, two years before the death of Alfonso the Eleventh, and above sixty after that of their author, that the contest with the local authorities was over, and the Partidas were finally proclaimed and established, as of binding authority in all the territories held by the kings of Castile and Leon. But from that period the great code of Alfonso has been uniformly respected. It is, in fact, a sort of Spanish common law, which, with the decisions under it, has been the basis of Spanish jurisprudence ever since.' Ticknor, Hist. of Spanish Literature, Period i. cap. 3.

P. 361, l. 21. *which happeneth rarely*] Every soldier who goes into battle earns what Bacon terms a rare and special honour, none the less if he escapes without a scratch. He risks his life for his country. Conf. the reply of the Spartan prisoner: *πολλοῦ ἂν ἄξιον εἶναι τὸν ἄτρακτον εἰ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς διεγίγνωσκε.* Thucy. iv. 40.

LVI.

OF JUDICATURE.

JUDGES ought to remember that their office is *jus dicere* and not *jus dare; to interpret law*, and not to *make law* or *give law;* else will it be like the authority claimed by the Church of Rome, which, under pretext of exposition of Scripture, doth not stick to add and alter, and to pronounce that which they do not find, and by show of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plausible, and more advised than confident[a]. Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper virtue. *Cursed* (saith the law) *is he that removeth the landmark.* The mislayer of a meere stone[b] is to blame; but it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of landmarks, when he defineth amiss of lands and property. One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples; for these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupteth the fountain: so saith Salomon, *Fons turbatus et vena corrupta est justus cadens in causâ suâ coram adversario.* The office of judges may have reference unto the parties that sue, unto the advocates that plead, unto the clerks and ministers of justice underneath them, and to the sovereign or state above them.

First, for the causes or parties that sue. *There be* (saith the Scripture) *that turn judgment into wormwood;* and

[a] *Judges ought to be* &c.] Lat. *Judicem oportet esse potius eruditum quam ingeniosum; venerabilem quam gratiosum; magisque deliberativum quam confidentem.* For 'advised' = deliberate, conf. 'Let him be rather advised in his answers than forwards to tell stories.' Essay 18, p. 128, and 'Letters are more natural than orations and public speeches, and more advised than conferences or present speeches,' Works, iii. 342.

[b] *a meere stone*] i. e. a boundary stone. Lat. *lapidem fines distinguentem.* French *qui change les limites.* Conf. 'That you contain the jurisdiction of the court within the ancient merestones, without removing the mark.' Letters and Life, vi. 202. So Swift, Voyage to Laputa, in his account of the struldbrugs, says, 'Neither are they allowed to be witnesses in any cause, civil or criminal, not even for the decision of meers and bounds.'

surely there be also that turn it into vinegar; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour. The principal duty of a judge is to suppress force and fraud; whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious suits, which ought to be spewed out as the surfeit of courts. A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys and taking down hills: so when there appeareth on either side a high hand, violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen to make inequality equal; that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground. *Qui fortiter emungit elicit sanguinem;* and where the wine-press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine that tastes of the grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard constructions and strained inferences; for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws: especially in case of laws penal they ought to have care that that which was meant for terror be not turned into rigour; and that they bring not upon the people that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, *Pluet super eos laqueos;* for penal laws pressed are a shower of snares upon the people: therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers of long or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by wise judges confined in the execution: *Judicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum,* &c. In causes of life and death, judges ought (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to remember mercy, and to cast a severe eye upon the example but a merciful eye upon the person.

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead. Patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice; and an overspeaking judge is no *well-tuned cymbal.* It is no grace to a judge first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the bar, or to show quickness

of conceit in cutting off evidence or counsel too short, or to prevent[c] information by questions though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four: to direct the evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech; to recapitulate, select, and collate the material points of that which hath been said; and to give the rule or sentence. Whatsoever is above these is too much, and proceedeth either of glory and willingness to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a staid and equal attention. It is a strange thing to see that the boldness of advocates should prevail with judges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit, who represseth the presumptuous and giveth grace to the modest: but it is more strange that judges should have noted favourites, which cannot but cause multiplication of fees and suspicion of by-ways. There is due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled and fair pleaded, especially towards the side which obtaineth not[d]; for that upholds in the client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cause. There is likewise due to the public a civil reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an over-bold defence; and let not the counsel at the bar chop with the judge, nor wind himself into the handling of the cause anew after the judge hath declared his sentence; but, on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause half-way, nor give occasion to the party to say, his counsel or proofs were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and ministers.

[c] *to prevent*] i.e. to anticipate. Lat. *si anticipet*, so *passim*.

[d] *which obtaineth not*] i. e. which prevaileth not. Lat. *si causa sua cadat*. For 'obtain'=attain, conf. 'But if a man cannot obtain to that judgment.' Essay 6, p. 41. I can find no more close instance of its use as in this passage. Whateley refers to Ecclesiasticus xi. 10, but as the context and the Vulgate show, 'obtain' is there used in its ordinary modern sense.

The place of justice is a hallowed place; and therefore not only the bench but the foot-pace[e] and precincts and purprise[f] thereof ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption; for certainly *Grapes* (as the Scripture saith) *will not be gathered of thorns or thistles;* neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briars and brambles of catching and polling clerks and ministers[g]. The attendance of courts is subject to four bad instruments: first, certain persons that are sowers of suits, which make the court swell and the country pine: the second sort is of those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly *amici curiae*, but *parasiti curiae*, in puffing a court up beyond her bounds for their own scraps and advantage: the third sort is of those that may be accounted the left hands of courts; persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and

[e] *foot-pace*] Lat. *subsellia.* French *non seulement les bancs, mais les degrés.* Ital. *non solamente la seggia, ma lo scabello de' piedi.* Whateley interprets the word by 'lobby'; Mr. Wright, by 'dais, or raised platform for a chair of state.' Latham's Johnson's Dict. gives 'landing places at intervals in the course of a staircase.' Nares, Glossary, spells the word 'foot-pase,' and explains it as mat or carpet.

[f] *precincts and purprise*] i. e. the whole area or enclosure of the court. Lat. *praecinctus sedis.* French *le circuit et pourprix.* Ital. *i precenti e tutti li confini.* There does not seem to be any distinction intended between the two words. For purprise conf. 'Daiphantus... perswaded the Phocians... for to go forth and encounter the Thessalians: but their wives and children to assemble all together unto a certain place in Phocis, and environ the whole pourprise and precinct thereof with a huge quantity of wood,' &c. Plutarch's Morals. 'On the vertuous deeds of women. The Dames of Phocis,' p. 399. The Greek of this passage is: *ἔπεισε τοὺς Φωκεῖς μὲν, αὐτοὺς ἀπαντήσαντας, τοῖς Θετταλοῖς μάχεσθαι, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἅμα τοῖς τέκνοις, εἰς ἕνα που τόπον συναγαγόντας ὕλην τε περιθῆσαι ξύλων καὶ φυλακὰς καταλιπεῖν.* Littré explains 'pourpris' as =enceinte, habitation. 'Eh morbleu, c'est dans le pourpris du brillant palais de la Lune qu'un honnête homme fait fortune' (Voltaire). 'Comme Romulus feist faire un fossé à l'entour du pourpris qu'il voulait enfermer de murailles' (Amyot, Rom. 15).

[g] *of catching and polling clerks* &c.] Lat. *scribarum et ministrorum rapacium et lucris inhiantium.* These words are explained and amplified in the passage which follows, where Bacon speaks of the fourth bad instrument of the court —the poller and exacter of fees. So Cowell speaks of 'catchepolle' as being 'now used as a word of contempt.' Interpreter, *sub voce.*

bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths: and the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees: which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush, whereunto while the sheep flies for defence in weather he is sure to lose part of his fleece. On the other side, an ancient clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in proceeding, and understanding in the business of the court, is an excellent finger of a court, and doth many times point the way to the judge himself.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the sovereign and estate. Judges ought above all to remember the conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables, *Salus populi suprema lex;* and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious and oracles not well inspired: therefore it is a happy thing in a state when kings and states do often consult with judges; and again, when judges do often consult with the king and state: the one when there is matter of law intervenient in business of state; the other when there is some consideration of state intervenient in matter of law; for many times the things deduced to judgment may be *meum* and *tuum*, when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate[g]: I call matter of estate not only the parts of sovereignty, but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration or dangerous precedent, or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people: and let no man weakly conceive that just laws and true policy have any antipathy; for they are like the spirits and sinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember that Salomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides: let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne; being circumspect that they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty.

[g] *may trench to point of estate*] i. e. may go near to touch some matter of state. Lat. *ad rationes statûs penetret.* The words which follow define exactly what 'point of estate' means.

Let not judges also be so ignorant of their own right as to think there is not left to them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws; for they may remember what the apostle saith of a greater law than theirs; *Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis eâ utatur legitime.*

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 365, l. 1. *their office is jus dicere and not jus dare*] This statement is balanced at the end of the Essay by the remark that judges must remember that they have left to them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws. The Antitheta on 'Verba Legis' will shew the sense in which these rules are to be understood. On the 'Pro' side we have 'Non est interpretatio, sed divinatio, quae recedit a litera. Cum receditur a litera, judex transit in legislatorem.' On the 'Contra' side, 'Ex omnibus verbis eliciendus est sensus, qui interpretetur singula.' Works, i. 706. We may take Bacon's meaning, therefore, to be that though judges are to be guided by the words of the law, they are to have regard to the whole of it, and not unduly to press some single point or to follow an interpretation of it out of accord with the rest. So, in King James' speech in the Star Chamber (1616) he directs the judges 'not to take upon them to make law, but joyned together after a deliberate consultation, to declare what the law is.' King James, Works, p. 551. In the course of the speech, he again bids them 'remember you are no makers of law, but interpreters of law, according to the trew sence thereof: for your office is *jus dicere* and not *jus dare*.' p. 555. But we find presently much the same balance as that on which Bacon insists. 'Laws are ordained as rules of vertuous and sociall living, and not to be snares to trap your good subjects; and therefore the law must be interpreted according to the meaning and not to the literal sense thereof.' Basilicon Doron, bk. ii. Bodin, de Republica, bk. vi. 6, endeavours to define and reconcile these two duties of a judge. He deals with the matter at much greater length than Bacon has done, but comes to no very precise conclusion. For the result of a breach of Bacon's first rule, conf. 'Concerning the civill justice here (i. e. in France) it is nowhere more corrupt nor expencefull . . . The Presidents are not bound to judge according to the written law, but according to the Equitie drawn out of it, which Libertie doth not so much admit conscience as leave wit without limits.' Overbury, Obs. on XVII. Provinces &c., p. 18.

l. 7. *Judges ought to be* &c.] On the first of these points conf. Speech to Justice Hutton: 'The first (line and portraiture of a good

judge) is, that you should draw your learning out of your books, not out of your brain.' Letters and Life, vi. 202.

On the second point, Speech to the Judges before Circuit: 'A popular judge is a deformed thing; and *plaudite's* are fitter for players than for magistrates. Do good to the people, love them and give them justice. But let it be, as the Psalm saith, *nihil inde expectantes;* looking for nothing, neither praise nor profit.' p. 211.

On the third point, Bacon's Speech on taking his seat in Chancery: 'I confess I have somewhat of the cunctative; and I am of opinion that whosoever is not wiser upon advice than upon the sudden, the same man is no wiser at fifty than he was at thirty, and it was my father's ordinary word, *you must give me time.*' p. 189. The rule against undue confidence may have been suggested by the example of Coke—'whose great travails as I much commend, yet that same *plerophoria*, or over-confidence, doth always subject things to a great deal of chance.' Letters and Life, v. 232.

l. 9. *integrity is their proper virtue*] So James, in his Speech in Parliament (1603), turns to the judges and magistrates and bids them 'remember that the thrones that you sit on are God's, and neither yours nor mine: . . . ye must be blinde and not see distinctions of persons; handlesse not to receive bribes,' &c. King James, Works, p. 494. The King then gives them warning that he intends to look sharply after them, and see that they behave as he bids them. Also in Speech in the Star Chamber, he gives a special charge to judges 'to doe justice indifferently between subject and subject, between King and subject, without delay, partialitie, feare, or bribery.' King James, Works, p. 555.

l. 10. *Cursed, saith the law* &c.] Deut. xxvii. 17.

l. 16. *so saith Salomon*] Prov. xxv. 26. Conf. Adv. of Learning, where the text is correctly quoted: 'Fons turbatus pede, et vena corrupta, est justus cadens coram impio.' Here is noted, that one judicial and exemplar iniquity in the face of the world, doth trouble the fountains of justice more than many particular injuries passed over by connivance. Works, iii. 450. It will be observed that the changes which Bacon makes in his quotation in the Essay are required to bear out his interpretation.

l. 23. *judgment to wormwood*] Amos v. 7. Conf. 'These two persons (*Dudley and Empson*) being lawyers in science and privy councillors in authority (as the corruption of the best things is the worst), turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine.' Works, vi. 217.

P. 366, l. 2. *delays make it sour*] 'The King's charge . . . was that I should retrench all unnecessary delays, that the subject mought find that he did enjoy the same remedy against the fainting of the soul and consumption of the state; which was speedy justice. Bis dat qui cito dat.' Bacon's Speech on taking his seat in Chancery.

Letters and Life, vi. 184. 'Fresh justice is the sweetest.' vi. 190. He promises, accordingly, to 'add the afternoon to the forenoon,' and some fortnight of the vacation to the term, for the expediting and clearing of the causes of the court.' vi. 190. This, at least, he did most effectually; conf. Letters and Life, vi. 208, 283, and vii. 14.

l. 8. *by raising valleys* &c.] Isaiah xl. 4 : 'Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low.' More usually explained as prophetic of the mission of St. John the Baptist.

l. 14. *Qui fortiter* &c.] Prov. xxx. 33.

l. 22. *Pluet super eos laqueos*] Ps. xi. 6.

penal laws pressed &c.] This is a favourite simile with Bacon. Conf. Speech for repealing superfluous laws (1601): 'I could therefore wish that . . . . every particular member of this House would give information to the Committee what statutes he thinketh fitting to be repealed or what branch to be superfluous; lest, as he sayeth, *pluat super nos laqueos.* The more laws we make, the more snares we lay to entrap ourselves.' Letters and Life, iii. 19. And, 'This continual heaping up of laws . . . turneth the laws many times to become but snares for the people, as was well said, *Pluet super eos laqueos; non enim sunt pejores laquei quam laquei legum.*' p. 336. And 'There is a learned civilian that expoundeth the curse of the prophet, *Pluet super eos laqueos*, of multitude of penal laws, which are worse than showers of hail or tempest upon cattle, for they fall upon men.' Letters and Life, vi. 65. And 'For the reforming . . . of the statute law . . . the next (part) is to repeal all statutes which are sleeping and not of use, but yet snaring and in force.' p. 71. James, in the Basilicon Doron, bk. ii, uses the same figure: 'Lawes are ordained as rules of vertuous and sociall living, and not as snares to trap your good subjects.'

It appears to have been suggested by a passage in the Erasmi Adagia, sub voce *Herculei labores.* 'Proinde principes, qui publicum agunt negotium, hoc animo praeditos esse oportet, ut ad hoc exemplar communem modo spectent utilitatem; nec magistratum, perinde quasi cauponatio sit, sibi gerant non aliis, nec legum veluti laqueis insidiari velint iis unde perspexerint emolumentum aliquod auferri posse.' (Ed. 1551, p. 629.)

To the same effect Budaeus, speaking of the mischievous multiplicity of laws and commentaries, declares them to be 'in perniciem et captionem mansuetorum et simplicium hominum excogitata.' Annot. in Pandectas, p. 84 (fol. ed. of 1535). Cicero frequently uses the same figure.

l. 26. *Judicis officium est* &c.] Ovid, Tristia, i. 1. 37.

l. 32. *Patience and gravity of hearing* &c.] Bacon, in his Speech on taking his seat in Chancery, condemns the practice of 'taking the tale out of the councillor at the bar his mouth,' and declares that

his own 'endeavour shall be to hear patiently.' Letters and Life, vi. 190, 191. Conf. Ellesmere's address to Coke's successor, Sir Henry Montagu, aimed throughout at Coke. 'In hearing of causes, you are to hear with patience, for patience is a great part of a judge. Better hear with patience prolixity and impertinent discourse of lawyers and advocates, than rashly for default of the lawyer to ruin the client's cause.' Campbell, Lives of Chancellors, ii. 253 (2nd ed. 8vo, 1846). So Pliny the younger says that, contrary to the custom of others, he always allows advocates as much time as they ask; for—'temerarium existimo divinare quam spatiosa sit causa inaudita, tempusque negotio finire cujus modum ignores; praesertim quum primam religioni suae judex patientiam debeat, quae magna pars justitiae est.' Epist. vi. 2.

l. 33. *an overspeaking judge . . . no grace to a judge*] Conf. among the rules which Bacon gives to Justice Hutton, 'That you affect not the opinion of pregnancy and expedition by an impatient and catching hearing of the counsellors at the bar. That your speech be with gravity, as one of the sages of the law; and not talkative, nor with impertinent flying out to shew learning.' Letters and Lives, vi. 202.

Here again Bacon's remarks may not improbably have been aimed at his old enemy Coke. 'Over-speaking' was among Coke's notorious faults. Conf. e. g. An Expostulation to the Lord Chief Justice Coke: 'First, therefore, behold your errors. In discourse you delight to speak too much, not to hear other men: this, some say, becomes a pleader, not a judge.' This letter has been printed as Bacon's, in Mr. Spedding's judgment on no sufficient evidence. I refer to it, therefore, only as a contemporary paper, showing what was said and thought of Coke. Mr. Spedding does not print the letter. It is given at length in vol. v. pp. 403–411 of the edition of 1819 in ten vols.

P. 367, l. 3. *to direct the evidence*] Lat. *probationum seriem ordinare.* This may mean in some cases no more than, to take care that all evidence admitted is to the point and properly arranged. But that it may mean much more than this appears from Bacon's letter to the King touching the procedure with Somerset: 'Hereupon I did move two things, which I do in all humbleness renew. First, that your Majesty will be careful to choose a Steward of judgment, that may be able to moderate the evidence and cut off digressions . . . The other, that there may be special care taken for the ordering of the evidence, not only for the knitting, but for the list, and (to use your Majesty's own word) the confining of it.' The object aimed at is termed presently 'the marshalling and bounding of the evidence.' Letters and Life, v. 231.

It does not clearly appear what it was that was to be hushed up, whether something favourable to the prisoner or disgraceful to the King. Mr. Spedding argues at length (pp. 340, 341) that there

is no evidence that anything was to be hushed up. His statement, taken with Bacon's letter, to which he does not refer, will perhaps be thought to supply evidence enough.

P. 368, l. 4. *Grapes, as the Scripture saith* &c.] St. Matthew vii. 16.

l. 11. *quarrels of jurisdiction*] Owing to the unsettled state of the law, these quarrels were frequent in Bacon's day, both between the judges and the ecclesiastical courts, and between the judges and the Court of Chancery. For instances of the former vide Gardiner's Hist. of England, vol. ii. caps. 12 and 14. Of the latter, there are several instances, two most notoriously, in which indictments were preferred of *praemunire*, for suing in Chancery after judgments at common law—a proceeding, in Bacon's judgment, so affronting to the Chancellor and his court, and therefore to the King, that the judges who had moved in it should answer it upon their knees and should receive a sharp admonition. These cases, and their final settlement in favour of the powers exercised by the Court of Chancery and against the attempt of the common law courts to interfere with them, are given at length in Letters and Life, vol. v. caps. 6 and 9.

On the excessive powers claimed after this by the Court of Chancery vide vol. vi. p. 126 note.

Engaging courts in quarrels of jurisdiction is one among the offences with which Lord Coke was charged. Bacon was careful that it should have full prominence given to it. Conf. 'Remembrances of His Majesty's declarative touching the Lord Coke,' a paper (in Mr. Spedding's judgment) giving a sketch, not of what the King said, but of what Bacon wished him to say: 'For things passed, his Majesty had noted in him a perpetual turbulent carriage, first towards the liberties of his church and the state ecclesiastical: then towards his prerogative royal and the branches thereof; and likewise towards all the settled jurisdictions of the other courts, the High Commission, the Star Chamber, the Chancery, the Provincial Councils, the Admiralty, the Duchy, the Court of Requests, the Commission of Sewers, the new boroughs of Ireland; in all which he hath raised troubles and new questions.' Letters and Life, vi. 95. The particulars are given at pp. 90–93. Conf. also James' speech in the Star Chamber: 'That you keepe yourselves within your own benches, not to invade other jurisdictions, which is unfit and an unlawful thing.' Letters and Life, v. 382. Also Speech at Whitehall (1609): 'I have often wished that every court had his own trew limit and jurisdiction clearly set downe and certainly knowne; which if it be exceeded by any of them or that any of them encroach one upon another, then I grant that a prohibition in that case is to goe out of the King's Bench, but chiefliest out of the Chancery. . . . For as God conteins the Sea within his owne bounds and marches (as it is in the Psalmes) so is it my office to make

every court conteine himself within his own limits.' King James, Works, p. 534. The matter, it may be remarked, is one which had been handled by Coke at length and very precisely. Conf. Institutes, Fourth Part, on the Jurisdiction of Courts.

l. 13. *for their own scraps and advantage*] The King had already found the same motive as Bacon does for the attempt of each court to encroach on the jurisdiction of other courts: 'Every court striving to bring in most moulture to their own mill.' Speech at Whitehall (1609). King James, Works, p. 534.

P. 369, l. 2. *poller and exacter of fees*] Lat. *expilatores et exactores foedorum.* On the passage, conf. Bacon's Speech on taking his seat in Chancery: 'The King's charge which is my lanthorn rested upon four heads. . . . The fourth was that justice might pass with as easy a charge as mought be; and that those same brambles that grow about justice, of needless charge and expense, and all manner of exactions, mought be rooted out as far as mought be.' Letters and Life, vi. 184. And he promises, accordingly, that 'I shall be careful there be no exaction of any new fees, but according as they have heretofore been set and tabled.'

the common resemblance of the courts of justice &c.] 'He wishes fewer laws, so they are better observed; and for those that are mulctuary, he understands their institution not to be like briars or springes to catch every thing they lay hold of.' Overbury's Characters—A reverend Judge. 'So that he that goes to law (as the proverb is) holds a wolf by the ears, or as a sheep in a storm runs for shelter to a briar.' Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy (1837), vol. i. p. 73.

l. 11. *conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables*] 'Regio imperio duo sunto . . . Ollis salus populi suprema lex esto.' Cicero, de Leg. iii. 3, sec. 8. This, and the other laws in the treatise, are said not to be quotations from the XII Tables. Vide ii. 7, sec. 18.

l. 15. *when kings and states do often* &c.] These rules and remarks must be taken as referring to questions of the day. They are all open to comment. The consultation of kings and states with judges is illustrated favourably by King James' course after his issue of Proclamations, forbidding persons to do certain things under penalties which were to be enforced by the Star Chamber, assuming thereby a power of penal legislation. The issue of these royal orders was included among grievances of which the House of Commons made formal complaint. James promised *inter alia* to confer with the judges on the matter, and the end was that the judges after careful consideration pronounced their opinion that 'the King by his Proclamation cannot create any offence which was not an offence before . . . that he has no prerogative but that which the law of the land allows him . . . and that if the offence be not punishable in the Star Chamber, the prohibition of it by Proclamation cannot make it

punishable there.' The proclamations so condemned were accordingly withdrawn, and no further attempt of the kind was made by the King to usurp an illegal power. Letters and Life, iv. 219–221.

The consultation on Peacham's case was of another and more questionable sort. The King wished to put him on his trial for high treason on account of certain unpublished papers found in his possession. But he wished first to make sure of the judges before whom the case would come, and he employed Bacon as his agent to obtain a separate opinion from each of them. The rest complied and gave the opinion desired, but Coke at the first refused to give any, and finally after great pressure gave an opinion that Peacham's offence did not amount to high treason. He was tried nevertheless before other judges and condemned, but the sentence was not carried out, probably in deference to Coke's adverse view. Letters and Life, v. 102, 114.

Of the rule that judges ought to consult with the king and state when there is some consideration of state intervenient in matter of law, we find two memorable illustrations. One John Michell had received grant of a new patent office, giving him the sole making of certain writs in the Common Pleas, and thereby interfering with the profits of the Prothonotary. This functionary sued in the King's Bench to be restored to possession of the ancient fees of his office, and so raised the question of the legality of the new patent. Bacon, in the King's interest as granter of the patent, held that the matter ought to be tried not in the King's Bench but before the King himself as represented in Chancery, and he tried accordingly to stop the proceedings by a writ *de non procedendo ad assisam Rege inconsulto*, the validity of which was disputed. Letters and Life, v. 223.

While this case was pending, a similar question was raised in another case. A living had been granted by the King to one of the bishops, *in commendam*, to be held together with the bishopric. The presentation to the bishop had been disputed, and the adverse claimants to the living had brought an action against the bishop. The case, as new and important, was to be tried before all the judges. The matter, as handled by the plaintiff's counsel, involved a decision on the extent of the prerogatives of the Crown, which the counsel sought to limit. The King, therefore, directed Bacon to signify his pleasure that the judges should not proceed with the case until he had had an opportunity of consulting with them. The judges, however, went on, alleging that it was against the law and against their oaths to delay doing justice. The whole business, and the conduct of the judges, were brought by the King before himself and his Council at Whitehall, and in the course of the proceedings his Majesty and the Lords thought good to ask the judges severally their opinion—'Whether, if at any time, in a case depending before

the judges, which His Majesty conceived to concern him either in power or profit, and thereupon required to consult with them and that they should stay proceedings in the meanwhile, they ought not to stay accordingly?' All but Coke acknowledged it to be their duty to do so. Coke said for answer, that when that case should be, he would do that should be fit for a judge to do. All of them promised so to deal with the case before them as not to touch the royal prerogative, and not to allow it to be called in question by counsel. Judge Doddridge went further, and promised to decide for the King, that the living was void and properly in His Majesty's gift. After this submission of the judges, the King admonished them to keep the bounds and limits of their several courts, and not to suffer his prerogative to be wounded by rash and unadvised pleading before them or by new inventions of law. Letters and Life, v. 272, 357–369.

Conf. also Speech in Star Chamber (1616) among the directions to judges: 'Encroach not on the prerogative of the crowne: if there fall out a question that concernes my prerogative or mystery of State, deal not with it till you consult with the King or his Councell or both: ... for so you may wound the King through the sides of some private person.' King James, Works, p. 556.

l. 28. *like the spirits and sinews*] This metaphor is drawn out more fully in Bacon's argument on the case of the Post-nati: 'Law no doubt is the great organ by which the sovereign power doth move, and may be truly compared to the sinews in a natural body, as the sovereignty may be compared to the spirits: for if the sinews be without the spirits, they are dead and without motion; if the spirits move in weak sinews, it causeth trembling: so the laws, without the King's power, are dead: the King's power, except the laws be corroborated, will never move constantly, but be full of staggering and trepidation.' Works, vii. 646. The sinews are here = the muscles; the spirits = the brain and nervous system. For Bacon's theory of spirits conf. note on Essay 9, p. 64.

l. 29. *Salomon's throne*] Conf. Bacon's Speech to Justice Hutton: 'Weigh and remember with yourself, that the twelve Judges of the realm are as the twelve lions under Salomon's throne; they must be lions, but yet lions under the throne: they must show their stoutness in elevating and bearing up the throne.' Letters and Life, vi. 202. And 'The Judges of Circuits are as it were the planets of the kingdom.... Do therefore as they do: move always and be carried with the motion of your first mover, which is your Sovereign.' p. 211.

It must be remembered that, at that day, the judges held their places during the King's good pleasure, and were liable to be displaced, as Coke was, if they failed in rendering the full obsequiousness which Bacon counsels and exemplifies.

P. 370, l. 5. *Nos scimus* &c.] 1 Timothy i. 8.

LVII.

OF ANGER.

To seek to extinguish anger utterly is but a bravery[a] of the Stoics. We have better oracles: *Be angry, but sin not: let not the sun go down upon your anger.* Anger must be limited and confined both in race and in time[b]. We will first speak how the natural inclination and habit *to be angry* may be attempered and calmed; secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or at least refrained from doing mischief; thirdly, how to raise anger or appease anger in another.

For the first, there is no other way but to meditate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles man's life: and the best time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca saith well[c] *that anger is like ruin, which breaks itself upon that it falls.* The Scripture exhorteth us *to possess our souls in patience;* whosoever is out of patience is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees,

—— *animasque in vulnere ponunt.*

Anger is certainly a kind of baseness; as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns:

[a] *bravery*] Lat. *ostentatio.* Conf. 'Speeches of reference to the person are great wastes of time; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery.' Essay 25, p. 177.

[b] *in race and in time*] Lat. *et quousque et quamdiu.* For 'race'—here seemingly = course—conf. 'The prosecution and race of the war carrieth the defendant to assail and invade the ancient and indubitate patrimony of the first aggressor.' Letters and Life, vii. 471.

[c] *Seneca saith well* &c.] Seneca's words are clearer than Bacon's translation of them. He says of anger that it is 'ruinis simillima, quae super id quod oppressere franguntur.' De Irâ, bk. i. cap. 1. 'Ruin,' therefore, in the text is a Latinism = a falling building ('interdum ruina est ipsa res quae ruit.' Facciolati). 'Upon that it falls' is 'upon that which it overwhelms and throws down.' For this active use of 'falls' conf. 'to raise or fall his voice.' Works, ii. 387. 'The king may at his pleasure alter the valuations, and raise and fall moneys.' Works, vii. 777.

'To-morrow, in the battle, think on me,
And fall thy edgeless sword.'
Richard III, v. sc. 3.

children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men must beware[d] that they carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear; so that they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it; which is a thing easily done if a man will give law to himself in it.

For the second point, the causes and motives of anger are chiefly three: first, to be too sensible of hurt; for no man is angry that feels not himself hurt; and therefore tender and delicate persons must needs be oft angry, they have so many things to trouble them which more robust natures have little sense of: the next is the apprehension and construction of the injury offered to be, in the circumstances thereof, full of contempt: for contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger, as much or more than the hurt itself; and therefore when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much: lastly, opinion of the touch[e] of a man's reputation doth multiply and sharpen anger; wherein the

[d] *Only men must beware* &c.] This is a difficult sentence. 'Beware' with a positive rule after it seems to be best explained by the implied negative which the rule conveys. The Latin version makes this much clearer: *Itaque cum irasci contigerit, caveant homines (si modo dignitatis suae velint esse memores) ne iram suam cum metu eorum quibus irascuntur, sed cum contemptu, conjungant.* But Bacon is saying how anger is to be attempered and calmed. He has just said that 'anger is certainly a kind of baseness.' It is clearly, therefore, from the general and special context, an impulse needing to be restrained. But Bacon, having said or implied this, thinks it well to warn his readers against allowing their calmness of demeanour to be set down as due to fear. When an injury has been received, men are to 'carry their anger,' that is to say, they are to keep it to themselves, they are not to suffer it to burst into unseemly outward show. But they are so to carry it as to make it appear that they view the injury with scorn, and think it beneath them to be angry at it. If to carry anger meant here to display anger, the caution that men are not to carry it with fear would be misplaced and absurd. There is no great risk that an outburst of anger will be interpreted as a sign of fear. A restraint of anger may easily be. For this sense of 'carry,' conf. Essay 22, p. 161: 'Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, as there is nothing they would insinuate but they can wrap it into a tale; which serveth both to keep themselves more in guard and to make others carry it with more pleasure.'

[e] *opinion of the touch* &c.] Lat. *opinio contumeliae, sive quod existimatio hominis per consequentiam laedatur et perstringatur.* Conf. 'Speech of touch towards others should be sparingly used.' Essay 32, p. 234.

remedy is that a man should have, as Consalvo was wont to say, *Telam honoris crassiorem.* But in all refrainings of anger it is the best remedy to win time, and to make a man's self believe that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come, but that he foresees a time for it, and so to still himself in the mean time, and reserve it.

To contain[f] anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution: the one, of extreme bitterness of words, especially if they be aculeate and proper[g]; for *communia maledicta* are nothing so much; and again, that in anger a man reveal no secrets; for that makes him not fit for society: the other, that you do not peremptorily break off in any business in a fit of anger; but howsoever you show bitterness, do not act anything that is not revocable.

For raising and appeasing anger in another, it is done chiefly by choosing of times when men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them; again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt: and the two remedies are by the contraries; the former to take good times when first to relate to a man an angry business; for the first impression is much; and the other is to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt[h]; imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what you will.

[f] *to contain*] i. e. to restrain. Lat. *ut* (ira) *citra noxam erumpat.* Conf.

'Fear not, my Lord, we can contain ourselves,
Were he the veriest antic in the world.'

Taming of the Shrew, Induction, Pt. 1.

[g] *proper*] i. e. specially applicable to the person. Lat. *acerbitas verborum . . . ei quem ferimus propriorum:* contrasted with *communia maledicta*, i. e. abuse at large, in the next clause. Conf. 'A man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off.' Essay 27, p. 192, and Horace, 'Difficile est proprie communia dicere.' De Arte Poet. 128.

[h] *from the point of contempt*] i. e. from anything which has to do with or implies contempt. Conf. 'the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate.' Essay 56, p. 369. The Latin here gives simply *ut injuriam a contemptu segreges.*

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 378, l. 1. *To seek to extinguish anger utterly* &c.] That anger is to be 'extinguished utterly,' is the general burden of Seneca's three Books—De Irâ. The following quotations may be enough: 'Exegisti a me, Novate, ut scriberem quemadmodum possit ira leniri: nec immeritò mihi videris hunc praecipuè affectum pertimuisse, maximè ex omnibus tetrum ac rabidum. Caeteris enim aliquid quieti placidique inest; hic totus concitatus et in impetu doloris est . . . . . Ut enim scias non esse sanos quos ira possedit, ipsorum illorum habitum intuere. Nam ut furentium certa indicia sunt . . . . . ita irascentium eadem signa sunt. . . . . Nescias utrùm magis detestabile vitium sit an deforme.' Bk. i. cap. 1. 'Omnia quae debet sapiens, sine ullius malae rei ministerio efficiet; nihilque admiscebit cujus modum solicitus observet. Nunquam itaque iracundia admittenda est.' Bk. ii. cap. 14.

l. 2. *Be angry* &c.] Ephesians iv. 26.

l. 15. *The Scripture exhorteth us* &c.] St. Luke xxi. 19.

l. 16. *whosoever is out of patience* &c.] Conf. 'Rectum est etiam in illis contentionibus, quae cum inimicissimis fiunt, etiam si nobis indigna audiamus, tamen gravitatem retinere, iracundiam repellere: quae enim cum aliqua perturbatione fiunt nec constanter fieri possunt, nec iis qui adsunt probari.' Cic. de Off. i. 38.

l. 18. *animasque* &c.] Virgil, Georg. iv. 238. Conf. 'Ulcisci cogitas? Cave moneo diligenter, nam si ulcisci tentaveris, secundam ac tertiam patieris injuriam, ac studio perdendi alterius, ipse te perdes. Apes minimâ injuriâ lacessitae pungunt, vitamque pungendo relinquunt.' Ficinus, Epist. bk. iii. Opera, vol. i. p. 742. (*Basileae*, 1576.) A comparison of this passage with Essay 4, line 20, will suggest that Bacon may have followed Ficinus in his caution against revenge and in his adaptation from Virgil.

l. 20. *weakness of those subjects*] Conf. 'At qui iracundissimi, infantes, senesque, et aegri sunt, et invalidum omne naturâ querulum est.' Seneca, De Irâ, i. cap. 13. 'Ut exulcerata et aegra corpora ad tactus levissimos gemunt, ita ira muliebre maximè et puerile vitium est.' Bk. i. cap. 16. And 'So it is in the tenderest and softest minds, the more they give place and yield unto dolour and passion, the more plenty of choler and anger they utter forth, as proceeding from the greater weakness. By this you may see the reason why women ordinarily be more waspish, curst and shrewd than men; sick folks more testy than those that are in health: old people more wayward and froward than those that be in the flower and vigour of their years.' Plutarch, Morals, p. 102.

P. 379, l. 13. *contempt is that which putteth an edge* &c.] So Aristotle

defines anger: *Ἔστω δὴ ὀργὴ ὄρεξις μετὰ λύπης τιμωρίας φαινομένης διὰ φαινομένην ὀλιγωρίαν τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ, τοῦ ὀλιγωρεῖν μὴ προσήκοντος.* Rhet. ii. cap. 2, sec. 1.

P. 380, l. 1. *as Consalvo was wont* &c.] Bacon gives this saying more clearly in the Charge touching Duels: 'But for this apprehension of a disgrace, that a fillip to the person should be a mortal wound to the reputation, it were good that men did hearken to the saying of Consalvo, the great and famous commander, that was wont to say, *a gentleman's honour should be de tela crassiore*, of a good strong warp or web that every little thing should not catch in it; when as now it seems they are but of cobweb-lawn or such light stuff, which certainly is weakness and not true greatness of mind, but like a sick man's body, that is so tender that it feels everything.' Letters and Life, iv. 406. And again—'Ubi consentaneum esset, constantiam hominis verè moralis talem fore qualem idem Consalvus in homine militari requirebat; nimirum ut honor ejus contexeretur tanquam *e tela crassiore;* minimeque tam tenui ut quidvis illud vellicare et lacerare possit.' Works, i. 721. It occurs also in the Apophthegms. Works, vii. 150.

l. 3. *to win time* &c.] So Aristotle: *Ἔτι κεχρονικότες καὶ μὴ ὑπόγυιοι τῇ ὀργῇ ὄντες (πρᾳοί εἰσι)· παύει γὰρ ὀργὴν ὁ χρόνος.* Rhet. ii. 3, sec. 12.

LVIII.

OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

SALOMON saith *There is no new thing upon the earth;* so that as Plato had an imagination that all knowledge was but remembrance, so Salomon giveth his sentence[a], *That all novelty is but oblivion;* whereby you may see that the river of Lethe runneth as well above ground as below. There is an abstruse astrologer that saith *if it were not for two things that are constant* (*the one is that*

[a] *his sentence*] i. e. his judgment. Lat. *sic Salomon pronuntiat.* Conf. Ascham's Scholemaster, bk. i: 'These be no questions asked by Socrates as doubts, but they be sentences first affirmed by Socrates as mere troths and afterwards given forth by Socrates as right rules'; and bk. ii: 'Caesar and Cicero, whose puritie was never soiled, no not by the sentence of those that loved them worst.'

the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another and never come nearer together nor go further asunder; the other that the diurnal motion perpetually keepeth time), no individual would last one moment: certain it is that the matter[b] is in a perpetual flux and never at a stay. The great winding-sheets that bury all things in oblivion are two; deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely[c] dispeople and destroy. Phaeton's car went but à day; and the three years' drought in the time of Elias was but particular, and left people alive. As for the great burnings by lightnings, which are often in the West Indies[d], they are but narrow; but in the other two destructions, by deluge and earthquake, it is further to be noted that the remnant of people which happen to be reserved are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past; so that the oblivion is all one as if none had been left. If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer or a younger people than the people of the old world; and it is much more likely that the destruction that hath heretofore been there was not by earthquakes (as the Egyptian priest told Solon, concerning the island of Atlantis, *that it was swallowed by an earthquake*), but rather that it was desolated by a particular deluge; for earthquakes are seldom in those parts. But on the other side, they have such pouring rivers as the rivers of Asia and Africa and Europe are but brooks to them. Their Andes

[b] *the matter*] i. e. 'matter' generally. Lat. *certum est materiam in perpetuo fluxu esse.*

[c] *merely*] i. e. entirely. Lat. *penitus.* So *passim.*

[d] *the West Indies*] i. e. the entire western world, north and south, continent as well as islands. In the New Atlantis, Bacon says of America what he says here of the West Indies. Works, iii. 143. In Purchas's Pilgrimes the same use is clear: 'Nature having divided these western Indies in two parts by the Isthmos or narrowness from Porto Bello to Panama, placed the one to the North and the other to the South.' Vol. iii. p. 860 (ed. 1625).

likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby[e] it seems that the remnants of generation of men were in such a particular deluge saved. As for the observation that Macciavel hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things; traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities; I do not find that those zeals do any great effects nor last long; as it appeared in the succession of Sabinian who did revive the former antiquities.

The vicissitude or mutations in the superior globe are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be, Plato's great year, if the world should last so long, would have some effect, not in renewing the state of like individuals (for that is the fume[f] of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon these things below than indeed they have), but in gross. Comets, out of question, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things; but they are rather gazed and waited upon in their journey than wisely observed in their effects; specially in their respective effects; that is, what kind of comet for magnitude, colour, version of the beams, placing in the region of heaven, or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a toy[g] which I have heard, and I would not have it given over but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries (I know not in what part), that every five and thirty years the same kind and sute[h] of years and weathers comes about again; as great frosts,

[e] *whereby*] i. e. by the great height of the mountains.

[f] *fume*] i. e. empty fancy. Lat. *fumus et vanitas*. Conf. 'Such natural philosophy as shall not vanish in the fume of subtile, sublime, and delectable speculation.' Works, iii. 332.

[g] *a toy*] i. e. a trifle. Lat. *leviculum quiddam*. Conf. 'These things are but toys to come amongst such serious observations.' Essay 37, l. 1.

[h] *sute*] i. e. sequence. The old spelling has been kept, because the modern form 'suit' does not bear the above sense.

great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like; and they call it the prime; it is a thing I do the rather mention, because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

But to leave these points of nature and to come to men. The greatest vicissitude of things amongst men is the vicissitude of sects and religions: for those orbs rule in men's minds most. The true religion is built upon the rock; the rest are tossed upon the waves of time. To speak therefore of the causes of new sects, and to give some counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of human judgment can give stay to so great revolutions.

When the religion formerly received is rent by discords, and when the holiness of the professors of religion is decayed and full of scandal, and withal the times be stupid, ignorant, and barbarous, you may doubt the springing up of a new sect; if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself author thereof; all which points held when Mahomet published his law. If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not, for it will not spread: the one is the supplanting or the opposing of authority established; for nothing is more popular than that; the other is the giving licence to pleasures and a voluptuous life: for as for speculative heresies (such as were in ancient times the Arians, and now the Arminians), though they work mightily upon men's wits, yet they do not produce any great alterations in states, except it be by the help of civil occasions[1]. There be three manner of plantations of new sects: by the power of signs and miracles; by the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion; and by the sword. For martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst miracles, because they seem to exceed the

[1] *by the help of civil occasions*] i. e. of occasions furnished by the temper or attitude of the citizens. The Latin gives, more precisely but somewhat less inclusively, *ex occasione motuum civilium*.

strength of human nature: and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms than to reform abuses, to compound the smaller differences, to proceed mildly and not with sanguinary persecutions, and rather to take off the principal authors by winning and advancing them than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

The changes and vicissitude in wars are many; but chiefly in three things: in the seats or stages of the war, in the weapons, and in the manner of the conduct. Wars in ancient time seemed more to move from east to west; for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars (which were the invaders), were all eastern people. It is true the Gauls were western; but we read but of two incursions of theirs: the one to Gallo-Graecia, the other to Rome: but east and west have no certain points of heaven; and no more have the wars, either from the east or west, any certainty of observation: but north and south are fixed; and it hath seldom or never been seen that the far southern people have invaded the northern, but contrariwise; whereby it is manifest that the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region; be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere, or of the great continents that are upon the north, whereas the south part, for aught that is known, is almost all sea, or (which is most apparent) of the cold of the northern parts, which is that which without aid of discipline doth make the bodies hardest and the courages warmest.

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great state and empire you may be sure to have wars; for great empires while they stand do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting forces; and then, when they fail also, all goes to ruin and they become a prey; so was it in the decay of

the Roman empire, and likewise in the empire of Almaigne after Charles the Great, every bird taking a feather; and were not unlike to befall to Spain, if it should break. The great accessions and unions of kingdoms do likewise stir up wars: for when a state grows to an over-power, it is like a great flood that will be sure to overflow; as it hath been seen in the states of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others. Look when the world hath fewest barbarous people, but such as commonly will not marry or generate except they know means to live (as it is almost everywhere at this day, except Tartary), there is no danger of inundations of people; but when there be great shoals of people which go on to populate without foreseeing means of life and sustentation, it is of necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion of their people upon other nations; which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot; casting lots what part should stay at home and what should seek their fortunes. When a warlike state grows soft and effeminate they may be sure of a war: for commonly such states are grown rich in the time of their degenerating: and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war.

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation: yet we see even they have returns and vicissitudes; for certain it is that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxidraces in India; and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning and magic; and it is well known that the use of ordnance hath been in China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons and their improvements are, first, the fetching afar off[k]; for that outruns the danger[l], as it is seen in

[k] *the fetching afar off*] i. e. the striking. Lat. *ut ad distantiam majorem feriant.* I find no parallel for this use of *fetching*, unless it is in the common phrase of 'fetching a man a blow.'

[l] *for that outruns the danger*] i. e. it enables the holder to strike the enemy before he himself comes within danger of the enemy's stroke. Lat. *id enim periculum ab hostili parte anticipat.*

ordnance and muskets; secondly, the strength of the percussion, wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all arietations[m] and ancient inventions; the third is, the commodious use of them, as that they may serve in all weathers, that the carriage may be light and manageable, and the like.

For the conduct of the war: at the first, men rested extremely upon number; they did put the wars likewise upon main force and valour, pointing[n] days for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match; and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battailes[o]. After[p] they grew to rest upon number rather competent than vast; they grew to advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the like; and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their battailes.

In the youth of a state arms do flourish; in the middle age of a state, learning; and then both of them together for a time; in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandise. Learning hath his infancy, when it is but beginning and almost childish; then his youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile; then his strength of years, when it is solid and reduced[q]: and lastly his old age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust; but it is not good to look too long upon these turning wheels of vicissitude, lest we become giddy: as for the philology of them[r], that is but a circle of tales and therefore not fit for this writing.

[m] *arietations*] i. e. use of the aries or battering-ram.

[n] *pointing*] i. e. appointing. Lat. *constituebant*. Conf. 'If you do not point any of the lower rooms for a dining place of servants.' Essay 45, p. 315.

[o] *battailes*] i. e. battalions, or bodies of troops. Lat. *in acie instruenda et ordinanda*. Conf. 'They say that the King divided his army into three battails, whereof the vanguard only, strengthened with wings, came to fight.' Works, vi. 58.

[p] *After*] i. e. afterwards. Lat. *postea*.

[q] *reduced*] Probably, with its juvenile luxuriance pruned away: not wandering off into empty speculation, and so diminished in range, but retaining all its more solid and valuable parts.

[r] *the philology of them*] This must mean, the stories to which the subject has lent itself, as the next words shew.

Notes and Illustrations.

P. 382, l. 1. *Salomon saith* &c.] Vide Ecclesiastes i. 9, 10, 11.

l. 2. *Plato had an imagination*] Vide Phaedo, 72 E. Socrates had been arguing for the pre-existence of the soul. Cebes thereupon remarks that Socrates' conclusions are further borne out by their agreement with his constant doctrine, *ὅτι ἡμῖν ἡ μάθησις οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀνάμνησις τυγχάνει οὖσα, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον ἀνάγκη που ἡμᾶς ἐν προτέρῳ τινι χρόνῳ μεμαθηκέναι ἃ νῦν ἀναμιμνησκόμεθα.* Vide also Meno 81 D, where Socrates says, *τὸ γὰρ ζητεῖν ἄρα καὶ τὸ μανθάνειν ἀνάμνησις ὅλον ἐστίν.*

l. 3. *so Salomon giveth his sentence*] The words attributed to Solomon are a paraphrase or loose quotation of the passage from Ecclesiastes referred to above.

l. 6. *an abstruse astrologer*] The reference here may perhaps be to Telesius, De Rerum Naturâ, i. 10, as expounded by Bacon in the De Principiis atque Originibus. The resemblance is not complete, but it is as close as in many other of Bacon's references and quotations.

'In spatiis illis intra extima caeli et intima terrae, omnem tumultum et conflictum et tartarismum inveniri ... Modum vero excogitat atque explicat Telesius quo ex hoc certamine et lucta induci atque expediri possit tam foecunda et multiplex entium generatio. Ac primo cavet terrae, inferiori scilicet principio, ac ostendit quid in causa sit cur a sole terra jampridem destructa et absorpta non sit, nec in futurum esse possit. Caput huic rei distantiam ponit terrae a stellis fixis immensam, a sole ipso satis magnam, et, qualis esse debeat, bene mensuratam ... Quarto, celeritatem solis respectu motus diurni, qui tantum ambitum tam exiguo temporis spatio conficit ... Bellum plane inexpiabile atque internecivum esse ... Itaque utramque naturam hoc ipsum appetere, niti, contendere, ut alteram plane perdat, seque solam et suam materiae indat.' Works, iii. 98-100.

Conf. also 'Tanta celeritate caeli sphaera dicitur currere, ut nisi adversus praecipitem ejus cursum astra currerent, quae eam remorarentur, mundi ruinam facerent.' Isidorus, Etymolog. lib. iii. cap. 35.

P. 383, l. 9. *Phaeton's car* &c.] The Latin shews that this story is not set down here as matter of fact. *Fabula Phaetontis brevitatem conflagrationis ad unius tantum diei spatium, repraesentavit.* In this illustration, and in the remarks just before it, Bacon clearly had in mind the statement in the Timaeus about the periodical conflagrations and deluges in which whole peoples have perished. Conf. Timaeus, p. 22: *πολλαὶ καὶ κατὰ πολλὰ φθοραὶ γεγόνασιν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔσονται, πυρὶ μὲν καὶ ὕδατι μέγισται, μυρίοις δὲ ἄλλοις ἕτεραι βραχύτεραι. Τὸ γὰρ οὖν καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν λεγόμενον, ὡς ποτε Φαέθων Ἡλίου παῖς τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς*

ἅρμα ζεύξας διὰ τὸ μὴ δυνατὸς εἶναι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ὁδὸν ἐλαύνειν τά τ' ἐπὶ γῆς ξυνέκαυσε καὶ αὐτὸς κεραυνώθεις διεφθάρη, τοῦτο μύθου μὲν σχῆμα ἔχον λέγεται, τὸ δ' ἀληθές ἐστι τῶν περὶ γῆν καὶ κατ' οὐρανὸν ἰόντων παράλλαξις καὶ διὰ μακρῶν χρόνων γιγνομένη τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς πυρὶ πολλῷ φθορά. That Bacon had the Timaeus in mind is certain. He refers to it, as it will be seen, more than once in the early part of this Essay.

It is clear too from a reference lower down and from the context of the passage there referred to, that he must have had Macchiavelli in his mind. Macchiavelli, in his Discourses on Livy, is discussing 'how the remembrances of times by severall occasions were abolished.'

'As for the causes that proceed from heaven, they are such as extinguish the race of mankind, and reduce to a small number the inhabitants of part of the world; and this comes to pass either by pestilence or famine or by a deluge of waters; but that of most importance is this last, because it is more universal, and because those that escape are all such as live among the mountains, and are simple and ignorant people who having no knowledge of antiquity cannot derive it to their posterity.' Bk. ii. cap. 5 (Dacres' translation).

l. 11. *left people alive*] The following words occur next in the Latin translation, with no equivalent in the English: *Incensiones illas loqueris, quae per fulmina et fulgura apud Indias Orientales fiunt? Angustae quidem sunt, nec magna spatia occupant. Pestilentias etiam praetereo, quia nec illae totaliter absorbent.*

l. 16. *ignorant and mountainous people. . . . newer or a younger people*] Conf. a corresponding passage in the New Atlantis: 'Marvel you not at the thin population of America, nor at the rudeness and ignorance of the people: for you must account your inhabitants of America as a young people; younger a thousand years at least than the rest of the world, for that there was so much time between the universal flood and their particular inundation. For the poor remnant of human seed which remained in their mountains peopled the country again slowly, by little and little: and being simple and savage people . . . they were not able to leave letters, arts, and civility to their posterity: and having likewise in their mountainous habitations been used (in respect of the extreme cold of those regions) to clothe themselves with the skins of tigers, bears, and great hairy goats that they have in those parts; when after they came down into the valley and found the intolerable heats which are there, and knew no means of lighter apparel, they were forced to begin the custom of going naked, which continueth at this day. Only they take great pride and delight in the feathers of birds, and this also they took from those their ancestors of the mountains, who were invited unto it by the infinite flights of birds that came up to the high grounds while the waters stood below.' Works, iii. 143.

Joseph de Acosta (Natural and Moral Historie of East and West Indies) gives up the problem which Bacon attempts to solve. 'There are,' he says, 'two things to be numbered among the secrets of God. One, how man could pass so huge a passage by sea and land: the other, that there being such multitudes of people, they have yet been unknown so many ages.' Lib. i. cap. 16.

Acosta mentions the tradition of a great American deluge: 'The Indians make great mention of a deluge hapned in their countrie, but we cannot well judge if this deluge were universal (whereof the Scripture makes mention) or some particular inundation of those regions where they are . . . I am of their opinion which thinke that these markes and shewes of a deluge was not that of Noe, but some other particular, as that which Plato speaks of, or Deucalion's flood,' &c. Lib. i. cap. 25 (translation, London, 1604).

l. 22. *as the Egyptian priest* &c.] It appears from the Timaeus, p. 25 C, that the island was said to have been destroyed by the combined action of earthquake and flood: *ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ σεισμῶν ἐξαισίων καὶ κατακλυσμῶν γενομένων, μιᾶς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς χαλεπῆς ἐπελθούσης, τό τε παρ' ὑμῖν μάχιμον πᾶν ἀθρόον ἔδυ κατὰ γῆς, ἥ τε Ἀτλαντὶς νῆσος ὡσαύτως κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης δῦσα ἠφανίσθη.*

l. 25. *for earthquakes are seldom in those parts*] This statement is contradicted by Acosta, and indeed by all authorities. They are in fact both frequent and destructive. Vide Acosta, Historie of the East and West Indies, lib. iii. cap. 26: 'Upon the coast of Chille (I remember not well in what yeare) there was so terrible an earthquake as it overturned whole mountains . . . it beate down townes and slew a great number of people . . . Soone after in the year 82 happened that earthquake of Arequipa which in a manner overthrew the whole citie.' Other instances are also given.

P. 384, l. 4. *the observation that Macciavel hath* &c.] Conf. 'When a new sect begins, that is a new religion, the first endeavour to gaine itselfe reputation is to blot out the memory of the old; and when it so falls out that the founders of the new sect are of a different language, they easily extinguish it: which thing is knowne by considering the wayes which the Christian religion us'd against the sect of the Gentiles, whereby it hath cancell'd all their orders and ceremonies and defac't the whole remembrance of that ancient Theology . . . And whosoever reads what courses Saint Gregory tooke and the other heads of the Christian religion, shall see with what obstinacy they persecuted all the ancient memorialls, burning all the Poets and Historians workes, defacing their images, and destroying every other thing that gave any light of that antiquitie . . . And because the sects in a five or six thousand yeares change two or three times, the memory of things past before that time is utterly lost.' Discourses on Livy, ii. cap. 5 (Dacres' translation). The above are among the charges

brought against Gregory by his successor, Sabinian, and borne out to some extent by Gregory's own writings. His dislike of classical studies is shewn in a letter to Desiderius, Bishop of Vienne in Gaul: 'Sed post hoc pervenit ad nos, quod sine verecundia memorare non possumus fraternitatem tuam grammaticam quibusdam exponere. Quam rem ita moleste suscepimus, ac sumus vehementius aspernati, ut ea quae prius dicta fuerant in gemitum et tristitiam verteremus, quia in uno se ore cum Jovis laudibus Christi laudes non capiunt,' &c. Ep. xi. 54.

His iconoclastic zeal appears in a letter to Ethelbert, King of Kent: 'Zelum rectitudinis tuae in eorum conversione multiplica, idolorum cultus insequere, fanorum aedificia everte,' &c. &c. Ep. xi. 66. Ad Ediberthum Anglorum regem.

But these stringent orders are modified afterwards by a new message conveyed to the King through Augustine: 'Dicite ei quod diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi, videlicet quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant, sed ipsa quae in eis sunt idola destruantur. Aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiae ponantur,' &c. &c. Ep. xi. 76. That Gregory 'did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities' in Rome is probably not true. Gibbon says that 'the evidence of his destructive rage is doubtful and recent.' (Decline and Fall, chap. 45.) The article in Bayle's Dictionary, to which Gibbon refers, and which he praises as 'very good,' somewhat favours the accusation, but does not pronounce certainly upon it. That the charge was brought by Sabinian is certain, though Gibbon might not reckon this as 'evidence' of any value. Milman says that the populace listened greedily to it, and that the chord of Roman feeling which Sabinian thus struck answered readily to his touch. In other words there were signs of a popular reaction in favour of what Bacon terms 'the former antiquities,' and of a revival of the old Roman attachment to their majestic edifices and even to the stately images of their ancient gods. (Hist. of Latin Christianity, bk. iv. cap. 6.) This at least Gregory had discountenanced and had done all he could to check.

l. 13. *Plato's great year*] Plato, in the Timaeus, after speaking of the many and intricate changes in the relative positions of the planets, and of the small attention paid to them, adds, *ἔστι δ' ὅμως οὐδὲν ἧττον κατανοῆσαι δυνατὸν, ὡς ὅ γε τέλεος ἀριθμὸς χρόνον τὸν τέλεον ἐνιαυτὸν πληροῖ τότε, ὅταν ἁπασῶν τῶν ὀκτὼ περιόδων τὰ πρὸς ἄλληλα ξυμπεραν θέντα τάχη σχῇ κεφαλὴν τῷ τοῦ ταὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμοίως ἰόντος ἀναμετρηθέντα κύκλῳ.*

The same notion is very clearly put out by Cicero: 'Quarum (stellarum) ex disparibus motionibus magnum annum mathematici nominaverunt, qui tum efficitur quum solis et lunae et quinque errantium ad eandem inter se comparationem confectis omnium spatiis est facta

conversio. Quae quam longa sit, magna quaestio est: esse vero certam et definitam necesse est.' De Natura Deorum, ii. 20. The passage which Bacon most clearly had in his mind, in writing about the great year, is in the De Civitate Dei, xii. c. 13, sec. 2, in which Augustine, after quoting (as Bacon has done) from Eccles. i. 9 and 10, adds, 'Absit autem a rectâ fide ut his Salomonis verbis illos circuitus significatos esse credamus quibus illi putant sic eadem temporum temporaliumque rerum volumina repeti ut (verbi gratiâ) sicut isto saeculo Plato philosophus in orbe Atheniensi et in eâ scholâ quae Acàdemia dicta est discipulos docuit, ita per innumerabilia retro saecula, multum prolixis quidem intervallis sed tamen certis, et idem Plato et eadem civitas et eadem schola et iidem discipuli repetiti, et per innumerabilia deinde saecula repetendi sint: absit inquam ut nos ista credamus.' In a fragment of Achilles Tatius, *in phaenomena*, there is an exact calculation of the length of the great year. Saturn, he says, revolves in thirty years, and passing in 350,635 years *ἀπὸ σημείου ἐπὶ σημεῖον ἀποκαθίσταται*. This latter term of years makes up the *μέγας ἐνιαυτός*. Uranologion, p. 137 (Paris, 1630). Plutarch says, 'As for the great year: some say it compriseth eight years; others nineteen; and others again sixty wanting one. Heraclitus saith it consisteth of 80,000 solar years. Diogenes of 365 years, such as Heraclitus speaketh of; and others of 7777.' Opinions of Philosophers, bk. ii. cap. 32, Morals, p. 676. Conf. also, 'Dans les écrits des anciens, particulièrement chez les Grecs, il est souvent question de la *grande année:* et les grandes années qu'on y trouve citées (souvent fort différentes les unes des autres) embrassent un nombre considérable d'années solaires . . . . . Nous avons déjà dit que la grande année étoit en général une révolution astronomique d'un ou de plusieurs astres: mais les anciens y attachèrent une sorte de superstition—voici comment le préjugé s'établit. Les premiers hommes qui étudièrent l'état du ciel pour les besoins d'agriculture remarquèrent que la révolution du soleil ramenoit les saisons dans le même ordre; ils crurent reconnoître que certaines intempéries dépendoient des aspects de la lune; et en attachant les différens pronostics de ces intempéries aux levers et aux couchers des étoiles, ils se persuadèrent que les vicissitudes des choses d'ici bas avoient des périodes réglées comme les mouvemens célestes . . . . Mais on voit que toute espèce de révolution leur présenta l'idée d'accomplissement et de renouvellement. De là naquit le préjugé que le même aspect, le même arrangement de tous les astres, qui avoit eu lieu à la naissance du monde, en ameneroit la destruction. Le tems de cette longue révolution étoit la durée prédestinée à la vie de la nature. Un autre préjugé, qui eut la même source, fut que le monde ne devoit périr à cette époque que pour renaître, et pour que le même ordre de choses recommençât avec le même cours des phénomènes célestes. Les uns fixèrent ce renouvellement universel à la con-

jonction de toutes les planètes: les autres, qui avoient connoissance du mouvement des fixes, l'attendirent au retour des étoiles au même point de l'écliptique. D'autres, en réunissant ces deux espèces de révolutions, marquèrent le terme de la durée de toutes choses au moment où les planètes et les étoiles reviendroient à la même situation primitive à l'égard de l'écliptique: c'est-à-dire qu'ils concevoient une période qui renfermeroit une ou plusieurs révolutions complètes des étoiles, et de même un certain nombre de révolutions complètes de chacune des planètes. Période immense! Le monde peut durer des milliers de siècles sans qu'elle s'achève. Toute ces périodes s'appellèrent *grande année*, c'est-à-dire *grande révolution* . . . . . Aristote disoit également que la grande année étoit celle qui ramenoit au même point du ciel le soleil, la lune et les cinq planètes: année dont l'hiver est le déluge, et l'été l'incendie générale de la terre . . . . . C'est encore cette année qu'on appelle la grande année de Platon.' Bailly, Histoire d'astronomie ancienne, lib. ix. cap. 15.

In the 'eclaircissements astronomiques' (appended to the History), bk. viii. sec. 15, we find a statement of the length of most of these great years, and of the method by which each of them is calculated. Plato's great year is set down as=12,000, 'qui sont évidemment la révolution des 1000 ans que les Perses attribuoient à chaque signe du zodiaque.' Conf. also Stobaeus, Physica, i. cap. 8, sec. 42, and Hofman, Lexicon Universale, sub tit. Annus magnus.

P. 385, l. 25. *and now the Arminians*] Conf. 'Jacques Arminius combattait des excès par d'autres excès, et outre qu'on le voyait s'aprocher beaucoup des Pélagiens, on le soupçonnoit, non sans raison, de quelque chose de pis ; certaines paroles qui lui échapoient le faisoient croire favorable aux Sociniens, et un grand nombre de ses disciples, tournez depuis de ce côté-là, ont confirmé ce soupçon.' Bossuet, Histoire des variations des Eglises Protestantes, xiv. 17.

James, it will be remembered, had written against Vorstius and Arminius, as Bacon notes with approval. Letters and Life, iv. 313 *note.*

P. 386, l. 22. *northern . . . the more martial*] 'Omnis in Arctois populus quicunque pruinis Nascitur, indomitus bellis et mortis amator. Quidquid ad Eoos tractus, mundique teporem Nascitur, emollit gentes clementia caeli.' Lucan, viii. 363–6.

l. 23. *in respect of the stars* &c.] 'Gentes regionesque certis subjici et consentire sideribus si quis dubitat, mores earum naturasque comparet ad stellarum naturas, quarum attribuuntur dominio, non casu aut fortuitâ sortitione sed ratione ac judicio.' Peucer, de Astrologiâ, p. 666 (edition of 1807, Hanover).

'Habitantes versus polum, ut Scythae, alios habent mores quam habitantes versus meridiem, sicut Aethiopes . . . Hoc autem non est ex ipsis hominibus a parte diversitatis animae rationalis, sed propter complexiones corporis innatas a natura coeli, sub cujus parallelis

diversis et stellis situantur, et secundum diversitatem situs eorum respectu planetarum.... Et non potest in terra nec in hominibus inveniri causa principalis hujus rei sed in coelo requiritur secundum omnes sapientes.' R. Bacon, Opus Majus, p. 157, Jebb's edition, folio.

'Quaelibet natio excitatur ad proprios mores per aërem proprium habentem virtutes stellarum, quae sunt super capita hominum, et secundum quod signa vel planetae dominantur singulis regionibus.' p. 248.

'Per diversitates horizontum patet omnia variari. Et hujus causa duplex est, una est causa universalis, scil. solis distantia vel propinquitas; Alia est causa particularis, scil. diversitas stellarum fixarum super capita habitantium. Tertia est ex praedominanti virtute XII signorum.... quia sunt similes in natura cum stellis, quae super capite habitantium revolvuntur. Et quarta causa est per planetas. Nam planetae assignantur diversis regionibus per dominium, sicut signa.' p. 239.

P. 387, l. 3. *not unlike to befall to Spain*] Conf. Notes of a speech concerning a war with Spain. 'It is not a little to be considered that the greatness of Spain is not only distracted extremely and therefore of less force; but built upon no very sound foundations ... With France they are in competition for Navarre, Milan, Naples, and the Franche County of Burgundy. With the see of Rome, for Naples also. For Portugal, with the right heirs of that line, &c. &c. So that if every bird had his feather, Spain would be left wonderful naked.' Letters and Life, vii. 464.

l. 25. *For certain it is that ordnance was known* &c.] This certainty seems to be based upon no better authority than a conversation between Apollonius Tyaneus and an Indian King, recorded by Philostratus in his life of Apollonius; lib. ii. cap. 14.

Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό μοι περὶ τῶν σοφῶν εἰπέ, οὐ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ποτὲ ἐγένοντο οὗτοι;..... Ὀξυδράκαι, ἔφη, ἐκεῖνοι ἦσαν. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐλευθεριάζει τε ἀεὶ καὶ πολεμικῶς ἐξήρτυται..... Οἱ δὲ ἀτεχνῶς σοφοί, κεῖνται μὲν τοῦ Ὑφάσιδος καὶ τοῦ Γάγγου μέσοι. Τὴν δὲ χώραν ταύτην οὐδὲ ἐπῆλθεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος.... εἰ δὲ καὶ διέβη τὸν Ὑφασιν καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς γῆν ἠδυνήθη ἐλεῖν, ἀλλὰ τήν γε τύρσιν ἣν ἐκεῖνοι κατοικοῦσιν οὐδ' ἂν μυρίους μὲν Ἀχιλλέας τρισμυρίους δὲ Αἴαντας ἄγων ποτὲ ἐχειρώσατο. οὐ γὰρ μάχονται τοῖς προσελθοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ διοσημείαις τε καὶ σκηπτοῖς βάλλοντες ἀποκρούονται σφᾶς, ἱεροὶ καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ὄντες. The King goes on to say that they were once attacked by Hercules and Bacchus, aided with all manner of warlike machines. *οἱ δὲ ἀντιπράττειν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀτρεμεῖν ὡς ἐκείνοις ἐφαίνοντο. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτοὶ προσῆσαν, πρηστῆρες αὐτοὺς ἀπεώσαντο, καὶ βρονταὶ κάτω στρεφόμεναι καὶ ἐμπίπτουσαι τοῖς ὅπλοις, κ.τ.λ.*

Raleigh refers to this story. Philostratus, in the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus, speaking of the expedition of Bacchus and Hercules into the East India, tells us that 'those two great captains (whom

Alexander sought by all means to outfame), when they endeavoured to subject unto them the Oxydracae, a people inhabiting between the rivers of Hyphasis and the Ganges, they were beaten from the assault of their cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be understood by the great ordnance that those people had then in use. For it is now certainly known that the great kings of the uttermost East have had the use of the cannon many years since, and even since their first civility and greatness, which was long before Alexander's time. But Alexander pierced not so far into the east.' Raleigh, Hist. of World, bk. iv. cap. ii. sec. 21. Also a passage in Themistius, Oratio xxvii. p. 337 (fol. 1684), seems to allude to some story of this kind.

Οὐκ εἰς Ἕλληνάς σοι μόνον πλουστέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν καὶ εἰς Ἰνδούς . . . . οἱ Βραχμᾶνες μὲν γὰρ οὐ προσήσονταί σε ἄνω πρὸς ἑαυτούς, ἀλλὰ καταστράψουσι καὶ καταβροντήσουσιν.

l. 28. *well known that*] Conf. 'Nous nous escrions du miracle de l'invention de nostre artillerie, de nostre impression; d'aultres hommes, un aultre bout du monde, à la Chine, en jouissoit mille ans auparavant.' Montaigne, Essays, bk. iii. chap. 6. Colonel Chesney, R.A., in his 'Observations on Firearms,' cap. ii, treats very fully of the alleged early use of gunpowder and artillery in India and China. As to the knowledge of gunpowder in both countries there appears to be no doubt. Colonel Chesney cites Sir George Staunton, to the effect that 'Nitre is the natural and daily produce of China and India, and there accordingly the knowledge of gunpowder seems to be coeval with that of the most distant historic events.' The gunpowder, Sir George Staunton says, was used for blasting, for amusement, and for defence by means of mines, but its force was not directed through strong metallic tubes. Professor H. H. Wilson (also cited by Colonel Chesney) says that the writings of the Indians make frequent mention of arms of fire and of rockets which appear to be of Indian invention. As regards the use of ordnance and of gunpowder as a propellant, 'there is some difficulty,' says Chesney, 'in distinguishing between inflammable substances and those which in a more advanced state were used as propellants.' He describes various inflammable and explosive substances which were unquestionably used by the Chinese, and he adds some evidence as to their alleged early use of artillery.

P. 388, l. 11. *ignorant in ranging* &c.] Conf. Nestor's tactical advice on the need of introducing order into the Greek battle array.

Κρῖν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φῦλα, κατὰ φρήτρας, Ἀγάμεμνον, Ὡς φρήτρη φρήτρῃφιν ἀρήγῃ, φῦλα δὲ φύλοις . . . . . Γνώσεαι δ' εἰ καὶ θεσπεσίῃ πόλιν οὐκ ἁλαπάξεις, Ἠ ἀνδρῶν κακότητι, καὶ ἀφραδίῃ πολέμοιο. Iliad, ii. 362–368.

Again, later in the story, when Agamemnon is reviewing the troops, he finds elsewhere *νέφος πεζῶν*, multitudes and martial spirit, but we read of no order except where Nestor is in command, iv. 296–305.

l. 17. *both of them together for a time*] Conf. 'Experience doth warrant that both in persons and in times there hath been a meeting and concurrence in learning and arms flourishing and excelling in the same men and the same ages . . . . . Neither can it otherwise be: for as in man the ripeness of strength of the body and mind cometh much about an age, save that the strength of the body cometh somewhat the more early; so in states, arms and learning, whereof the one correspondeth to the body, the other to the soul of man, have a concurrence or near sequence in times.' Works, iii. 269.

l. 22. *his old age, when* &c.] The Latin adds *manente tamen garrulitate.* Bacon is perhaps referring to the later school of the Neo-Platonists, finally closed by Justinian. Vide Ritter and Preller, Historia Philosophiae Graecae et Romanae (ed. 2), 'Veteris philosophiae exitus,' p. 571.

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